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A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF BIBLIOGRAPHY

EDITED BY A. W. POLLARD

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TRAVESTIES OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

By R. FARQUHARSON SHARP¹

THE sacrilegious hands of the parodist do not appear to have been laid upon Shakespeare much before the end of the eighteenth century ; but between 1792 and 1808 five travesties appeared—all five, curiously enough, being from the pens of foreigners. The earliest of these is by a French author, the other four are by Germans.

We may, I think, fairly leave out of count an English travesty that appeared in the seventeenth century, inasmuch as it was a travesty of Shakespeare only at second hand. I refer to *The Mock Tempest*, by Thomas Duffett, which was a parody of Dryden and Davenant's perversion of *The Tempest*. *The Mock Tempest* was published in 1675, and a few years later Sir William Soames wrote of it :

'The dullest scribblers some admirers found
And the Mock Tempest was a while renown'd,
But this low stuff the town at last despised
And scorned the folly that they once had prized.'

Exclusive of that, I have been able to trace some 59 travesties, produced between 1792 and 1895. I do not suppose that my list is exhaustive, but it is as complete as I have been able to make it. The Shakespeare bibliographies have none

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 17 November 1919.

of them anything like a complete list of travesties in their 'Shakespeareana' sections. Out of those I have traced there are about half a dozen that I have not been able to see. Of these, four are in the Barton Shakespeare collection in the Public Library at Boston, Mass. Of the rest, there are six or seven that are not in the British Museum Library nor (as far as I have been able to ascertain) in any London library. There are copies of these, however, at the Birmingham Public Library; and through the kindness of Mr. Powell, the Birmingham librarian, I have been able to see them. Where I have not mentioned the whereabouts of any particular travesty, it may be assumed that there is a copy at the British Museum.

Of the 59 that I have traced there are only seven that do not appear to have been published. (I have not taken into account parodies of isolated scenes or speeches from Shakespeare's plays.)

It is interesting to note which have been the favourite plays for travesty. *Hamlet* is an easy first, with eighteen out of my 59 to its score. *Othello* comes next, with eight; *Romeo and Juliet* with seven; *Richard III* with six; *The Merchant of Venice* and *Macbeth* with four apiece; *Antony and Cleopatra* with three; *The Tempest*, *Coriolanus*, and *King Lear* with two apiece; and *King John*, *A Winter's Tale*, and *The Taming of the Shrew* with one each.

It cannot be claimed that any high level of wit is attained in these travesties, except in one or two cases—notably in one of the very latest—but of that it will perhaps be possible to form some judgement from such brief excerpts and descriptions as I shall be able to give.

Instead of grouping together the various travesties written on the same play, it will be more interesting to consider them in their chronological sequence, as that may in some degree indicate the changing fashion in humour.

To begin, then, with the five foreigners that head my list : a travesty of *Othello*, called *Arlequin Cruello*, was played and published (anonymously) in Paris in 1792 ; one of *Hamlet*, entitled *Der travestirte Hamlet*, was played and published in Vienna in 1798 ; another of *Hamlet*, called *Prinz Hamlet von Dännemark*, was published in Berlin in 1799 ; one of *Othello* appeared in Vienna in 1806, and one of *Romeo and Juliet* in the same city in 1808.

The anonymous *Arlequin Cruello* calls itself a 'parodie d'Othello', but is really more of the nature of a mildly amusing little vaudeville with a plot faintly resembling that of *Othello*. The characters are members of a troupe of actors in which Cruello plays the Harlequin parts, Doucelmone the ingénues, her father the parts of the 'père noble', and so forth. Doucelmone is betrothed to Cruello ; but her affections are alienated by the black mask he wears, and she philanders with the son of the 'Directeur', a youth who plays secondary lovers' parts. Cruello attacks Doucelmone in fury ; but the vaudeville ends, as it should, with her resuscitation and with satisfactory explanations all round. Slight as the piece is, it required (according to Barbier) three authors to concoct it—Jean-Baptiste Radet, François Georges Fouques, and Pierre Barré.

After this follow, close on each other's heels, the four German travesties. *Der travestirte Hamlet* (Vienna, 1798) is a ponderous vaudeville which has but little reference to the original it professes to burlesque. It is stated to be by 'Karl Ludwig Gieseke', which was a pseudonym used by Johann Georg Metzler.

Its successor, *Prinz Hamlet von Dännemark*, published anonymously in Berlin in 1799, was the work of Johann Friedrich Schink. This is nearly as dull a work as its predecessor and is three times as long. It has the merit, however, that its plot follows the lines of the original to a considerable

extent. Hamlet is represented as having written his play for the Players to perform and as being tortured with indecision as to whether he shall allow it to be printed or not. I will endeavour to translate a few lines :

‘To print or not to print, that is the question !
 Whether ’twere better that my masterpiece
 Should in my desk lie buried, or be sent,
 As well corrected copy, to the printers,
 And so end all ? A little risk, no more,
 And by that risk to end my daily headaches,’—

and so on. The burlesque is full of what are obviously allusions to contemporary characters and events, and without a key to these one is in the dark as to the quality of wit that is being displayed. Indeed, on looking through it I was irresistibly reminded of a criticism of Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* that was told to me as coming from the mouth of an actor’s ‘dresser’ who had been witnessing that play for the first time. On being asked what he thought of it, he replied : ‘Well, sir, it may have been funny when it was written, but it isn’t now.’

Our fourth and fifth foreign travesties, *Othello der Mohr in Wien* (Vienna, 1806) and *Romeo und Julie, ein Quodlibet mit Gesang* (Vienna, 1808), are, like the others, vaudevilles, but have the merit of being shorter. The fun in both seems to consist in the modernizing of Shakespeare’s characters and making them talk in Viennese dialect.

It is something of a relief to turn to English travesties, which from this date begin to appear in fair numbers. The earliest, *Hamlet Travestie*, by John Poole (the author of *Paul Pry*), was first published in 1810 and had a remarkable success, going through six editions in seven years. It was last reprinted in 1853. Poole prefaced the original edition with an ‘apologia’, anticipating the charge of sacrilege or at least levity ; but by the time he had reached his fourth

edition he was bold enough to print an 'advertisement' expressing his gratification at the 'liberality and good-humour' with which his work had been received, and 'congratulating those who, on its first appearance, were apprehensive for the reputation of Shakespeare that, notwithstanding Three Editions are already before the public, he is neither expelled from our libraries nor banished from our stage'.

The travesty was performed at Covent Garden in 1813, with Charles Mathews the elder as Hamlet and Liston as Ophelia, and it was twice revived in the seventies to give two actors the opportunity of imitating Irving's Hamlet. The dialogue is not brilliantly funny, but probably Poole's audiences and readers had not the sophistication which comes of familiarity with burlesque. Shakespeare's plot is followed pretty closely, except that Hamlet and Laertes 'put on the gloves' for the final fight. The soliloquies are all turned into songs, to be sung to the tunes of popular songs of the day. For example, Hamlet sings (to the tune of 'Here we go up, up, up') :

When a man becomes tir'd of his life,
The question is, to be or not to be ?
For before he dare finish the strife
His reflections most serious ought to be.
When his troubles too numerous grow
And he knows of no method to mend them,
Had he best bear them tamely, or no ?
Or by stoutly opposing them end them ?
(Refrain.) Ri tol de rol, &c.'

As a fair specimen of the dialogue, let me quote a few lines from the opening scene :

'*Queen.* Come, Hamlet, leave off crying ; 'tis in vain,
Since crying will not bring him back again.
Besides, 'tis common : all that lives must die.
So blow your nose, my dear, and do not cry.

Hamlet. Aye, madam, it is common.

Queen.

If it be,

Why seems there such a mighty fuss with thee ?

Hamlet. Talk not to me of seems ; when husbands die,

'Twere well if some folks seemed the same as I.

But I have that within you can't take from me—

As for black clothes, that 's all my eye and Tommy.'

The best fun of the travesty lies in the 'burlesque annotations, after the manner of Dr. Johnson, George Steevens, Esq., and the various commentators', which Poole appends to his text. In his preface he says that while apology may be deemed necessary for parodying the poet, he does not propose to offer any for parodying what he styles 'the perversion of 'sense, the obscuration of meaning, the false lights, the fanciful 'and arbitrary illustrations, of Black-letter Critics and Coney-catching Commentators'. To give an instance of the annotations: his appendix includes notes after the manner of Warburton, Johnson, and Steevens upon the phrase 'That's all my eye and Tommy' in the passage I have just quoted. Warburton is made to suspect that in place of 'my eye and Tommy' the author wrote 'my own to me'; so that (with the trifling alteration of 'within' to 'without') the lines would run :

'But I have that without you can't take from me,

As my black clothes are all my own to me,—

'i. e. my own personal property—not borrowed from the 'royal wardrobe, but made expressly for me at my own 'expense.'

On this emendation Johnson is made to comment as follows: 'Here is an elaborate display of ingenuity without 'accuracy. He that will wantonly sacrifice the sense of his 'author to a supererogatory refinement may gain the admiration of the unlearned and excite the wonder of the ignorant ; 'but of obtaining the praise of the illuminated, and the

‘approbation of the erudite, let him despair. “My eye and “Tommy” (i. e. “fudge”) is the true reading; and the ‘passage, as it stands, is correct.’

Steevens is made to follow with the brief remark : ‘In the ‘*Ryghte Tragical Hystorie of Master Thomas Thumbe*, bl. ‘letter, no date, I find, “’Tis all my eye and Betty Martin,” ‘used in the same sense. If the substitution of “Tommy” ‘for “Betty Martin” be allowed, Dr. Johnson’s explanation ‘is just.’

Poole having parodied Shakespeare and lived, not only to tell the tale but to see his play pass through several editions, his example was speedily followed. Two years after his *Hamlet Travestie* first saw the light, a travesty of *Romeo and Juliet* appeared, and in 1813 travesties of *Macbeth* and *Othello*. These were by three separate authors; but each author, in his preface, cites Poole as a precedent for his audacity, and each copies Poole in adding burlesque annotations after the styles of well-known Shakespearian commentators. In no case, however, are these notes as witty as Poole’s.

The *Romeo and Juliet* travesty (1812) was by a Richard Gurney. In his preface, besides making the stock apology to which I have alluded, he adds : ‘I have also taken the liberty ‘of omitting in the present work all the indelicate passages of ‘the original . . . for surely it is neither the province of true ‘gallantry nor wit, be the vices of the age what they may, to ‘shock the feelings of our fair countrywomen by indecent ‘bagatelles and doubles entendres.’ The plot of his travesty follows that of Shakespeare, save that Juliet ends her life, in the tomb scene, by banging her head with a couple of thigh-bones of her ancestors. Everybody blames the Friar for all that has happened, and the few survivors at the end of the play determine to try him at the next Assizes.

The *Macbeth Travestie* appeared in the following year

(1813) in the anonymously published *Accepted Addresses*. It is a dreary production—the soliloquies, as usual, being turned into songs to be sung to popular tunes.

The *Othello* travesty, also published in 1813, if not particularly witty or refined, is at any rate livelier. The author, who remains anonymous but signs his preface 'Ibef', says therein : 'In the present rage for Hippo-Dramas and whilst the formation of theatres remains so ill-judged as it is, no play of merit can be performed to the satisfaction of a delicately accurate and discerning mind. To travestie works, therefore, which can alone be duly appreciated by private and patient perusal, cannot be deemed very culpable. The motions of the Heavenly Bodies have not been ridiculed into insignificance by the poor imitation of an Orrery.' 'Hippo-Dramas' were in high favour at this time, at Astley's Amphitheatre and the Olympic. When Elliston took over the management of the latter in 1814, he found it arranged as a circus and had to remodel the building. In the last scene of this *Othello* travesty, Desdemona is discovered asleep in a sofa bed, the lid of which can be shut down. Othello gives her a smacking, and then disposes of her by shutting down the lid of the bed, to the accompaniment of the melody 'I've locked up all my treasure'.

Meanwhile, in 1811, a German travesty of *Coriolanus*, by Julius von Voss, had been published at Berlin in a book of *Travestieen und Burlesken*. This is quite a slight affair, in one act, written in rhymed couplets and not particularly amusing. It is, however, a play and not a vaudeville.

Three travesties on the subject of *Richard III*, all published in London, come next in chronological order. One is a '*King Richard III Travestie*, by William By' (1816), of which a copy is at Boston. The second is a '*Richard III Travestie*, with annotations by Contract Jumble' (1823); a copy of this is at Birmingham. The third, which was

published anonymously in 1823, has the inevitable preface of apology quoting Poole as precedent. There is a point of interest in it in the author's allusion to the 'great success Mr. Poole's Hamlet met with in the closet and its total failure upon the stage'. This, the author thinks, was because Poole's travesty was too long; so, to avoid a similar error, he compresses his travesty into two acts. For all that, they are two acts too long; for his work is very poor stuff and by no means up to even Poole's modest level.

Out of six travesties produced between 1830 and 1840, there are two that I have not been able to see. These are '*King Lear and his daughters queer*, by Hugo Vamp' (London, 1830), a copy of which is at Boston, and an anonymous '*Hamlet, a new burlesque*' (London, 1838). I have not been able to trace the whereabouts of a copy of the latter, but Jaggard mentions it as having been published.

Of the other four, one is '*Macbeth Modernized; a most illegitimate drama*, by Robert Bell' (1838). It was privately printed, and a copy of it is at Birmingham. It is in the customary vaudeville form, and is rather silly. In the murder scene the heads of Duncan and Banquo are seen peeping from their hiding-place behind a bed in which they have arranged a pig in the bedclothes to represent the sleeping King. Macbeth stabs this, with gory result. Of the remaining three, one (to which I shall refer directly) is by Gilbert A'Beckett, and two, which were published in 1834 and 1837 respectively, are from the pen of a certain Maurice G. Dowling. They are a 'burlesque burletta' on *Othello* and a travesty of *Romeo and Juliet*. Both are dull and vulgar. *Othello* is described as being 'an independent nigger from the Republic of Hayti' and talks Christy Minstrel dialogue. His address to the Senate, which begins:

'Potent, grave and rev'rend sir,
Very noble massa,'

is directed to be sung to the tune of 'Yankee Doodle'. Dowling's *Romeo and Juliet* is of the same kidney, and need not detain us.

Gilbert A'Beckett's burlesque, on *King John*, was produced in 1837; and, with his name and those of Francis Talfourd, the brothers Brough and Charles Selby, we get back into a less illiterate stratum. *King John* is not a very promising subject for parody, but A'Beckett made the most of it according to the burlesque fashion of the day. In the scene between Hubert and Prince Arthur, Hubert (who is Dentist to the Court) threatens to pull out the boy's teeth with a huge pair of pincers, while the 'Ruffian' stands by 'with pewter basin, towel, &c.'; the 'Ruffian' being described in the cast of characters as 'attached to Hubert, but a member of the Animals' Friend Society'.

I find record of the publication of a '*Macbeth Travestie*, by A. K. Northall' in New York in 1843 (a copy is at Boston); and of a '*Coriolanus Travestie*, by James Morgan,' published at Liverpool in 1846—'apparently the first Liverpool Shakespearean publication, and rather unworthy of the occasion,' says Jaggard; but I have not been able to see either of these. A '*Hamlet Travestie*, by C. Beckington,' was published in Newcastle in 1847 (a copy is at Birmingham). This follows the same lines as Poole's travesty, but without any perceptible improvement on it; it also includes a number of passages bodily 'lifted' from Poole, due acknowledgement of this being made in the preface.

The year 1844 had seen the production of two more travesties of *Richard III*, one by Charles Selby and one by Joseph Sterling Coyne. The latter's effort is described by a contemporary critic in the *Era* as 'a burlesque to which, 'but for an exquisite imitation of an actor who is ungifted 'with any pre-eminent talent for tragedy, we could scarcely 'have accorded a moment's tolerance'. The actor referred

to must, I think, be Phelps, who had in that year begun his venture at Sadler's Wells.

In 1848 the brothers Brough wrote (for the Adelphi theatre) a burlesque of *The Tempest* under the title of *The Enchanted Isle ; or, Raising the Wind on the most approved principles*.

At the close of the forties and the beginning of the fifties Francis Talfourd was turning out a number of farces and burlesques. Among the latter was a *Macbeth Travestie* published at Oxford in 1850 and stated on its title-page to be 'as performed at Henley on the day of the Regatta, 17 June 1847'. Five or six years later it was played at the Olympic, with Robson in the title-part. Talfourd was also responsible for a *Hamlet* travesty published at Oxford in 1849, and for two travesties on *The Merchant of Venice*, a play which till then had escaped the parodist. Of these two, the earlier was published at Oxford in 1849, but apparently not performed. Four years later Talfourd expanded it, and it was played at the Olympic in July 1853 with Robson as Shylock. This part is said to have given Robson the first chance of exhibiting fully the tragi-comic power which was the characteristic of his acting, and the burlesque drew the town. Talfourd called it '*Shylock, or the Merchant of Venice preserved*'. An entirely new reading from an edition hitherto undiscovered . . . which it is hoped may be received as the stray leaves of a Jerusalem hearty-joke.' I am bound to say that a perusal of it has left me with the conviction that Robson must have been an even greater genius than he is reputed. Talfourd had, however, a thorough knowledge of the theatre, and I have little doubt that much of the burlesque would act far better than it reads. Some of the lines are fairly neatly turned. For instance :

'How like a swindling publican he looks,
Applying for his licence when the books

Are crowded with complaint of open house
 At two o'clock A.M. and drunken rows !
 I hate him as a conscientious nuisance
 Who brings down our Venetian rate of usance.'

Talfourd's dialogue reflects the fondness for the pun which was characteristic of the burlesque humour of the day (and for a couple of decades later) and was developed to its utmost by such writers as Burnand and H. J. Byron. In this travesty, for instance, Portia says :

' But mind, Nerissa, that a maiden should
 Of kisses to a bearded man be chary,'—

to which Nerissa replies :

' Such a salute, ma'am, must be salute-hairy.'

It is very easy to sneer at the pun as a form of humour ; but the fact remains that it was the basis of burlesque fun for thirty years or more, and seemed to afford unrestricted enjoyment to audiences until its supremacy was challenged by the finer humour of Sir W. S. Gilbert. And, after all, Shakespeare himself had not disdained to use it.

To resume our chronicle, no more than passing reference need be made to an ' Ethiopian burlesque ' of *Hamlet*, as performed by Griffin and Christy's Minstrels in 1849 and subsequently ; to a *Hamlet* travesty by George Edward Rice, published anonymously in Boston in 1852 (a copy is at Birmingham) ; to a *King Lear* travesty published and played in London in 1855 as *King Queer and his daughters three* ; or to an *Othello* travesty, *A Moor and an Amour*, published at Liverpool in 1856.

A travesty of some interest, that was produced and published in 1856, is William Brough's *Perdita, or the Royal Milkmaid*, a burlesque of *A Winter's Tale*. This was played by a cast that included Miss Marie Wilton (now Lady Bancroft) as Perdita, this being one of her earliest appearances in London, and, as Autolycus, a rising young actor of the name

of J. L. Toole. In the list of scenes, the second is said to be 'a desert spot on the shores of Bohemia, or Bithynia, or wherever it is'; and, at the end of the Prologue, Time (who is speaking as Chorus) breaks into a song, to the air of 'The Rat-Catcher's Daughter', with the words:

'Long time ago from Bohemia
Sailed the King—no, we're wrong about the quarter,
For the King didn't come from Bohemia
'Cause he couldn't come thence by water;
So we can't have that, but we'll place him at
Bithynia—it's a name no shorter.'

This was a hit at Charles Kean's production of *A Winter's Tale* at the Princess's in the same year. Charles Kean's bid for fame was frankly made as what we should nowadays call a 'producer' of plays, for he was not a particularly good actor. He was a Shakespearian enthusiast, mainly from the commentator's standpoint; and he was a fervent archaeologist, very proud of his designation as 'Charles Kean, F.S.A.'. In his mounting of Shakespeare's plays at the Princess's, authorities of all kinds were ransacked to ensure a faithful reproduction of what were often entirely unessential details in elaborating the pictures of past days. With the production of each play he issued a 'descriptive leaflet'; and in the case of *A Winter's Tale* he boggled at Bohemia as possessing no sea-coast and transformed it into Bithynia,—gravely stating in his descriptive leaflet that, amongst other accuracies, his scenes included 'vegetation peculiar to Bithynia, from private drawings taken on the spot'.

There now turns up unexpectedly in our chronological list an Italian travesty of *Othello* by Andrea Codebò, published at Milan in 1858. The author calls it a 'parodia tragica', and it certainly is not very mirth-provoking. One of the few humorous ideas in it is that of making Othello press snuff upon Cassio, so as to oblige him to blow his nose and

consequently display the handkerchief which Desdemona is supposed to have given him.

The next year (1859) saw the production, at the Strand theatre, of Andrew Halliday's *Romeo and Juliet Travestie ; or, The Cup of Cold Poison*. In this Juliet, instead of drinking a potion, is sent to sleep by a perusal of the latest work of Mr. Martin Tupper. In the scene with the Friar, she is made to say :

' Rather than marry Paris, I would drink
South Afric sherry—and I really think
I would invest of all my wealth the half
In shares of the Atlantic Telegraph ;
I'd leave off crinoline—neglect my supper—
I'd even read a work by Mr. Tupper.'

Whereupon the Friar gives her Mr. Tupper's latest work, with the words :

' It is his latest work. When on page you look,
A cold and drowsy humour soon will creep
Over your sense—as more you read, a sleep
Will overtake you, and your pulse will cease.'

The travesty ends, as usual, with the resuscitation of the various corpses, who break into song and dance.

Two *Hamlet* travesties appeared in London at the end of the sixties : *Hamlet the ravin' prince of Denmark ; or, The Baltic Swell and the Diving Belle* (1866), and '*A Throw for a Throne ; or, the Prince Unmasked*. By Sergeant Zinn' (1870). A copy of the former of these is at Birmingham, and one of the latter at Boston. The former is stated on the title-page to have been ' printed for private representation '—which seems just as well, for it is poor stuff. Here, again, passages are stolen verbatim from Poole, whom the author presumably thought to be quite forgotten, for he makes no acknowledgement of his dishonesty. In it, as in Poole, Hamlet and Laertes ' put on the gloves ' for the final fight—

'the Danish Chicken' versus 'King Claudius's big 'un'—and the Ghost in this case is 'kindly lent by Mr. Pepper'.

A *Romeo and Juliet* travesty was published at Oxford in 1868, but I have not been able to see it.

The most prolific and popular burlesque writer about this time was Burnand, and his work included several Shakespearian travesties. He wrote two of *Antony and Cleopatra*, one for the Haymarket in 1866 and one for the Gaiety in 1873; one of *Richard III* for the Royalty in 1868; and one of *The Tempest* which was played at the Gaiety in 1883 under the title of *Ariel*. By the later eighties punning humour was passing out of fashion on the stage, but Burnand resolutely and successfully worked the vein for all it was worth. A fair example may be taken from the wooing scene in his *Rise and Fall of Richard III*:

Richard. I see that you a passion for me foster—

Anne. Passion for you! High, mighty, double Glo'ster!

Richard. Oh, call me double Glo'ster if you please,
As long as I, in your eyes, am the cheese.

Anne. A cheese! Why, then I'll cut you.

Richard. I've the daring
To ask you to consider this cheese-pairing.'

Hamlet the Hysterical; a delirium in five spasms, was played at the Princess's in 1874. This was inspired by Irving's performance of Hamlet, which was first seen in that year. It does not appear to have been published. Two stupid travesties, one on *Romeo and Juliet* and one on *Hamlet*, were published in 1877 and 1879 respectively in St. Louis, U.S.A., by Charles C. Soule. They were written for representation before the St. Louis University Club, and they bear all the marks of that intention. The tale of Shakespearian travesties in the seventies is concluded by a *Hamlet à la Mode*, by G. L. Gordon and G. W. Anson, produced at Liverpool in 1877, but, apparently, not published.

Between 1880 and the end of the nineties, eleven travesties appeared in English, one in German, and one in Danish, and after that the practice seems to have died its natural death. Of the English eleven, two were of *The Merchant of Venice*—the one an American travesty published in 1884 for amateur use, and the other a burlesque by F. J. Fraser entitled *The Merry Merchant of Venice: a peep at Shakespeare through the Venetians*, which was published at Allahabad in 1895 and was obviously written for performance before military audiences.

Burnand's *Tempest* travesty of 1883 has been already mentioned; a German *Othello: Parodie von Caprice* was published at Budapest in 1885; and in 1888 John Kendrick Bangs published in New York a travesty of *The Taming of the Shrew*, which is a re-writing of that play in such fashion that Katherine successfully gets the upper hand of Petruchio and proclaims the lesson that the modern shrew is to be tamed, if tamed at all, by different methods.

A travesty of *Antony and Cleopatra*, by W. Sapte, was played at the Avenue theatre in 1891, but apparently not published; and in the same year there was published in Edinburgh '*Rummio and Judy*, by Horace Amelius Lloyd'. A copy of the latter is at Birmingham. Its level of refinement may be gauged by a stage direction at the close of the potion scene after 'Judy' has sat down to a jorum of milk punch which she has brewed. The stage-direction runs: 'Drinks 'and becomes progressively intoxicated. Music expressive of 'getting drunk. She is at last so overcome that she staggers 'to her bed and falls on it. Pause.'

In 1895 a Danish travesty, *Othello i Provindsen*, was published at Copenhagen. It is a comedy of bourgeois life, more or less on the lines of Shakespeare's play.

The remaining five English travesties in this last period were all of *Hamlet*. '*Hamlet Improved*, by G. H. Colomb' (London, 1880), states in its preface that it is 'not designed to

'burlesque Shakespeare; on the contrary, it is intended as 'a satire upon those who, with Voltaire, consider the great 'dramatist's genius over-rated'. A good deal of it is taken up with a discussion between 'Mr. Mendall, a brilliant dramatic author' and 'Mr. Makeall, a successful theatrical manager', as to the amendment and improvement necessary to Shakespeare's plays before they will 'draw' the public. They are at all events agreed as to the absolute necessity of a farcical ending to the last act of *Hamlet*.

'*Hamlet; or, Not such a Fool as he looks*. By the author of *The Light Green*' was published at Cambridge in 1882. (A copy is at Birmingham.) This is a brief vaudeville, in which the King is trapped by a performance of Punch and Judy, the tragic parts of whose drama cause him to display so much emotion that he betrays himself.

A Fireside Hamlet, by J. Comyns Carr, and *Very Little Hamlet*, by William Yardley were both produced in London in 1884. Both of them made good-humoured fun of Wilson Barrett's performance of *Hamlet* at the Princess's in that year, but only the former was published.

Last of the *Hamlet* travesties, and by a long way the wittiest, is Sir W. S. Gilbert's *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern*. This was written and first performed in 1891, and is published in the collected edition of Gilbert's plays. The plot is as follows: King Claudius, when a young man, wrote a five-act tragedy which was damned and all reference to it forbidden under penalty of death. His son Hamlet's tendency to soliloquy has so alarmed the Queen that she has sent for Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to devise some Court revels for his entertainment. Rosencrantz is a former lover of Ophelia, who has been betrothed to Hamlet, and these two lay their heads together to devise a plan by which Hamlet may be put out of the way. Rosencrantz persuades Ophelia to steal from her father's desk the one extant copy of the

King's play which her father in his capacity of Lord Chamberlain has preserved, and they offer it to Hamlet (who has never heard of it and is unaware of the penalty attached) for performance at some Court theatricals which are in preparation. It is played, with tragic result.

At the opening of the skit, the King is explaining his sadness to the Queen as being the result of memories of the fate of his drama. He tells her how, when the ill-starred work was about to be produced :

‘The day approached—all Denmark stood agape.

Arrangements were devised at once by which |

Seats might be booked a twelvemonth in advance.’ |

But, as he tells her, ten minutes of the first act were enough for the audience, and, after that, ‘the curtain fell, never to rise again’. The Queen asks :

‘Was it, my lord, so very very bad ?’

to which he replies :

‘Not to deceive my trusting Queen, it was.’

The King, however, had taken steps to set himself right with the world. He says :

‘I wrote an Act by way of epilogue—

An Act by which the penalty of death

Was meted out to all that sneered at it.

The play was not good—but the punishment

Of those that laughed at it was capital.’

When Rosencrantz arrives, meets Ophelia, and hears of her betrothal to Hamlet, he asks her what he is like. This is her reply :

‘Alike for no two seasons at a time.

Sometimes he’s tall—sometimes he’s very short—

Now with black hair—now with a flaxen wig—

Sometimes an English accent—then a French—

Then English with a strong provincial “burr”—

Once an American, and once a Jew—

But Danish never, take him how you will !
And strange to say, whate'er his tongue may be,
Whether he 's dark or flaxen—English—French—
Though we're in Denmark, A.D. ten-six-two,
He always dresses as King James the First.'

Hamlet is pleased with the play that Rosencrantz and Ophelia offer him ; and, prior to its performance, he treats the Players to a lengthy and wordy address on the evils of buffoonery in acting. To this the First Player replies that he and his fellows 'are much beholden to the prince for his good 'counsels. But they would urge upon his consideration the 'fact that they are accomplished players, who have spent many 'years in learning their profession ; and they would venture to 'suggest that it would better befit his lordship to confine 'himself to such matters as his lordship might be likely to 'understand.'

The play is duly enacted, and its absurdities move the whole Court to paroxysms of laughter, until the King, recognizing his handiwork, exclaims that Hamlet shall die, and draws his dagger for the purpose. At Ophelia's entreaties, however, he spares Hamlet's life and banishes him to England, where possibly his peculiarities may be appreciated.

Even so brief a survey of Shakespearian travesties as the foregoing will serve to show that, as a rule, they have not risen to any very high level of wit ; nor has there been, except in some of the prose passages in Gilbert's *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern*, any real attempt to parody Shakespeare's style. The parodying, in general, amounts to an irreverent transforming of serious situations into absurd ones. Be that as it may, we may perhaps consider these impertinences as having at least a place in the scheme of things inasmuch as they give to those unregenerate spirits (and such are to be found even in what the British Museum Catalogue delights to call 'Academies and Learned Societies') who are at times

a trifle weary of the earnestness of the 'earnest student' of Shakespeare, opportunity to snatch an unholy pleasure from finding the plays regarded, not as solemn ceremonials, but as plays written by a human being and a practical dramatist, and therefore fair game for the parodist.

If it be objected that there is, as I have hinted, very little real parody about the travesties, we must fall back upon the sad truth that in most cases the appeal of such things arises from their pandering to the low liking, which persists in human nature, for seeing solemn things made to look absurd. Which, as Pepys would say, is very strange.

SOME NOTES ON TWO EARLY ROMANCES—HUON DE BORDEAUX AND MELUSINE ¹

By F. W. BOURDILLON

IT has long been common knowledge among bibliographers that there is an edition of *Huon de Bordeaux* bearing a date three years earlier than that mentioned as the first edition by Brunet ; but the relation of this edition of 1513 to that of 1516 has not, as far as I know, been hitherto described. A brief account of these two editions, with a classification of all editions, may therefore be acceptable to members of the Bibliographical Society.

The two editions of 1513 and 1516 are for all ordinary purposes one and the same book ; and a copy of either which had lost both title-page and colophon would require the closest scrutiny to decide to which edition it belonged. The type is the same ; the woodcuts (with a single exception) the same ; the page-wording and the placing of the cuts is throughout the same. In fact, it is evident that for the greater part of the book there was only one setting of the type. The points of difference are the following :

1. The title-page and the colophon.

(1513) LEs prouesses et faitz mer-/ueilleux du noble Huon de bordeaulx per de france, duc / de guyenne. Nouuellemēt redige en bon francoys & im/prime par le congie et preuilege du Roy nostre sire cōme/ il appert a la fin de la table de ce present liure.

[Below : woodcut of the Plumed Horseman.]

(f. clxxxviii recto :) ¶ Cy finissent les faictz et gestes / du noble Huon de bordeaulx duc de / guyenne & per de france. /

¹ Part of a paper read before the Bibliographical Society, December 1919.

Auecques/ plusieurs aultres faitz & prouesses/ daulcuns Princes regnans en son/ temps. Nouuellemēt imprime a pa/ris par Michel le noir Libraire iure/ en luniuersite de paris. Demourās/ en la grant rue saint Jacques. Le-/quel a preuillege du Roy nostre sire/ que nul autre que luy ne le peult im/primer ne faire imprimer autre que/ luy et ses commys iusques a deux/ ans finitz & acomplys a prendre du/ io^r que ledict liure sera imprime qui/ est le .xxvi. iour de nouembre mil. v/ cens et treize.

[Below : M. le Noir's device.]

(1516) LEs prouesses et faitz mer-/ueilleux du noble Huon de bordeaulx per de france, duc de guy-/enne. Nouuellement redige en bon francoys et imprime par le/ congie et preuillege du Roy nostre sire.

[Below : woodcut of the Plumed Horseman.]

(f. clxxxviii.) ¶ Cy finissēt les faitz et gestes du/ noble Huon de bordeaulx duc de guy/enne et per de france. Auecques plu-/sieurs aultres faitz & prouesses daul/cuns Princes regnans en son temps/ Nouuellement imprime a Paris le./ xxiiii. iour de decēbre. Mil cinq cens/ et seize. Pour Jehan Petit Libraire/ Jure en Luniuersite de Paris. De/mourāt en la grāt rue saint Jaques.¹ ¶ Cum Preuillegio.

[Below : Petit's device.]

2. In 1513, the Table of Contents at the beginning is followed (sign. ā [vi] verso) by the 'preuillege', which occupies the whole page.

In 1516, the 'preuillege' does not appear; but its place is filled by a large woodcut of a bare-headed man on his knees presenting a volume to a king enthroned and crowned. This cut is found in other books of Michel and Philippe le Noir, e. g. the *Jardin de Plaisance*, s.d., and the *Illustrations de Gaulle*, 1524.

¹ This is according to the copy before me. In Brunet the words that follow the date are given as: par Michel le Noir,

3. In the rest of the book some fifteen leaves show perceptible points of difference. Even, however, where a page or a leaf carries some salient and unmistakable sign of new setting, as in words abbreviated or written in full, the general appearance of the page is most deceptively similar, and it is quite possible that other leaves than the fifteen I have observed may have been reset, reset to the point of facsimile. In a considerable number of cases, however, a lifted space-block, or a worn letter, or a marked irregularity of line offers sure evidence of the page being of the same impression.

All copies I have seen of the earlier of these two editions bear the name of Michel le Noir; but in the 1516 edition the name of his close ally and frequent coadjutor Jehan Petit appears in some copies instead of his own. This second edition was not issued till a full year after the expiration of the previous 'Privilège'; nor would it seem that any rival edition was even then threatening, as the next extant edition is the quarto issued by the widow of Jehan Trepperel, and must have appeared between 1522 and 1527—that is, at least six years later. I regret that I have not seen a copy of this edition, and cannot therefore give any account of it, or say what relation it bears in text or illustrations to Le Noir's.

These two Le Noir editions—for I think there is sufficient difference to justify the use of the often-abused word edition: to call them merely two issues would be rather misleading, in view of the reprinting of at least seventeen leaves and possibly more, and further in the absence of the Privilège in the second—these two editions are illustrated throughout with woodcuts altogether identical except for the additional cut taking the place of the Privilège, which makes the number in the second 88 instead of 87. There are only 14 repeats, so that there are respectively 73 and 74 separate cuts. Of these, twenty certainly, and perhaps one or two more, are special cuts designed for this work; and these are regrettably bad:

not the worst of the worst, such as the shameless atrocities found in the cheaper and later Paris Romances, but very decidedly poor work, inferior though conscientious in design, and correspondingly inferior in cutting. Yet of six of these poor things transfer-copies even worse appear in Denys Janot's later undated edition of the same Romance.

The cut on the title-page is the handsome and well-known cut of a Plumed Horseman. This fine cut appears in several of Le Noir's books, and this is not its first service; for it had been used eleven years before in the edition of *Beuves d'Anthonne* (Bevis of Hampton) published by Le Noir in 1502: I do not know of any earlier appearance.

The remaining illustrations are for the most part small cuts familiar in Le Noir's publications. They evidently belong to several different series, and all probably began life as illustrations to some particular work, to which it may some day be possible to trace them. But besides the smaller cuts there are six of larger size and more interesting. These six cuts (eleven with repeats) belong to the famous series illustrating the *Destruction de Troye le Grand* of Jacques Millet (a sort of Mystery-play in verse, founded on Colonna's Troy book), which was published at Paris by Jacques Bonhomme in 1484. Of this Troy book M. Claudin says: 'It is one of the earliest and most remarkable books printed with woodcuts at Paris, the illustrations designed by a real artist, who has given a true character of life and movement to the persons represented.' Mr. Pollard, in the Pierpont Morgan Catalogue, agrees in this appreciation of these cuts, though he thinks that more than one artist and several cutters were employed on them. There were three editions of this work issued at Paris in the fifteenth century, the second and third being published by Vérard, into whose hands the blocks seem to have passed. After the edition of 1498 the cuts are not found again as a set, so far as I know. Whether some of them

perished with Vêrard's shop on the bridge that fell the next year we cannot tell; but of the complete set of 27 cuts about half are found promiscuously in books of a later date, and at least eleven of them appear after the death of Vêrard to have come into the possession or control of Le Noir, as they occur fairly frequently in books bearing his name.

The 1513 edition of *Huon de Bordeaux* is the earliest known, and is always presumed to have been the first printed. It may be pointed out, however, that the colophon states it to be 'nouvellement imprimé', words which usually imply a previous edition; and further that 1513 is a late date for the first appearance in print of such an important Romance; most of the other chief favourites, such as *Ogier le Danois* and the *Quatre Filz Aymon*, had been many years in print by this time, either at Paris or Lyons or both; and lastly, friend Michel le Noir was a publisher who followed rather than led, and almost all his publications were books which had already been successful with other publishers such as Vêrard or Trep-perel. So much has been lost—so many early books exist only in single copies—that it seems more probable than improbable that there was an editio princeps, now lost, of *Huon de Bordeaux*.

Following these two editions of Le Noir come several without date, which can only be arranged and dated conjecturally, according to the time in which their various publishers are known or supposed to have been in business.

Of these, the first in order is probably that published by the widow of Jehan Trepperel, whose name appears alone in books between 1522 and 1527.¹ I have not seen this edition, of which there is no copy in the British Museum. The title and colophon are given in Brunet, and need not be reproduced here.

The undated editions of Olivier Arnoullet at Lyons and

¹ Harris, *Excerpta Columb.* Introd. p. xlviii.

Denys Janot at Paris may be provisionally arranged in this order, as the former published a book as early as 1525,¹ while according to Renouard, Denys Janot is only found at the address given in his *Huon de Bordeaux* after 1532. This latter is not mentioned in Brunet, but there is a copy in the British Museum. The colophon runs as follows :

‘Cy finissent les faictz et gestes du noble Huon de Bordeaux
deaulx Duc de Guyenne et Per de France. Auecques
plusieurs aultres faictz et Prouesses daulcuns princes regnans
en son temps. Nouuellement imprime a Paris par Denys
Janot demourant en la rue neufue nostre Dame a Lymaige
sainct Jehan Baptiste pres sainte Geneuiefue des Ardans.’²

The woodcuts are all but one transfer-cuttings from those in the edition of 1513. There appear to be some ten or twelve, including two repeated. But eight pages are missing in the British Museum copy (signatures i and k).

The edition of Jean Bonfons, who published from 1547 to 1568, is almost certainly later than the two last-named. Both on the title-page and in the colophon it is stated that it is ‘Imprime nouuellement pour Jean Bonfons, Libraire demourant en la Rue neufue nostre Dame a lenseigne saint Nicolas’; but no date is given. The book contains nine woodcuts (with repeats, fourteen), old cuts re-used, and without any special merit or interest except that on the title-page. This, however, is a superior cut, representing a king riding in procession under a canopy; it is from the

¹ *Galien Rethoré*. Brunet notes that the copy he had seen had lost its colophon, so he gives no date. But Vingtrinier, *Histoire de l'imprimerie à Lyon*, 1894, p. 187, gives the date as above. He mentions also a book published by one or other of the Arnoullets, he does not say which, with an earlier date still: *Les Gestes des Tholosains*, 1517; this book was apparently unknown to Brunet.

² In the British Museum catalogue this book is dated thus 1[565], the figures lxx on the title-page (denoting the number of *cabiers*) having, as often, been taken for the date.

original block, and not from the transfer-cutting which appears in other books. In *Three Hundred Notable Books*,¹ p. 77, a facsimile is given of this cut from Petrarch's *Triumphes*, 1520, its first recorded use apparently. But the fleur-de-lis decoration on the canopy and the general design suggest that the cut was originally used (or intended) to represent some actual occasion; for instance, the coronation or entry into Paris of Francis I, for whom the youthful king on horseback might very well be meant. Of the other cuts, two are poor transfer-cuts of Le Noir's *Huon de Bordeaux* designs mentioned on p. 23 above. We may note that the book contains 264 leaves, but the cuts all occur in the first third of the volume, there being no more illustrations after fol. lxxii.

After these we come to a few editions which bear dates, the first of which is an octavo of 1566 of which Brunet can record nothing except that it is mentioned by Du Verdier. He had not seen the book himself, neither have I.

The quarto published at Lyons by Benoist Rigaud, and dated 1586, has more to say for itself, and is an interesting book. It is well printed in Roman letter, and contains 360 pages numbered in arabic figures, with a final unnumbered leaf on which is nothing but a woodcut. The text of the romance in this edition has been a good deal altered and the sentences often pared down; and now for the first time (to my knowledge) the lengthy romance is divided into two parts or 'books', the division being made where there is no real break, but actually in the middle of a conversation, and in the middle of a chapter, into which a new chapter-heading is inserted.² Although the whole is paged continuously, the second 'book' begins at a second set of signatures, the first being A—Z, the second AA—KK. In fact it looks very much

¹ 'Three Hundred Notable Books added to the Library of the British Museum under the keepership of Richard Garnett, 1899.'

² Cap. 106, though the chapters are not numbered in any of the early editions.

as if the division had been determined in the printing office, and according to the convenience of the printer rather than consideration of the matter.

The book contains forty-five different woodcuts of all sorts and sizes, fifty-three with the repeats. None of these appear to be new nor, with a single exception, p. 297 (mis-numbered 299), originally designed for this romance. But their very variety gives them some interest, as they form almost a connected exhibition of Lyons woodcuts from the rude beginnings learned from Basle (p. 253) down through the promising second stage when the Lyons woodcutters had begun a style of their own (pp. 120, 124, 270, &c.) to the later period when the influence of Venetian cuts had swamped this hopeful beginning with mediocre imitations of the Italian style and copies of Venetian designs. Thus on p. 276 there is a reduced copy of one of the three-compartmented cuts to Ovid's *Heroides*, Venice, Tacuino, 1501 (Hero and Leander), and on p. 19 a miniature cut derived (through a previous reduction in Boulle's Lyons edition of 1527) from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Venice, 1497 (Bk. viii, Nisus and Scylla). On the title-page is a cut of a knight on horseback with vizor raised, both horse and man staring fixedly at a shield hung on a tree, which shield bears the monogram of BR, i. e. Benoist Rigaud, the publisher of the book. On the last leaf is the cut of a man on horseback, the horse wearing a plume and half turned to the spectator, which is used or imitated on the title-page of the succeeding small octavo editions of Lyons and Rouen.

There were six of these, three from Lyons and three from Rouen. The Lyons are dated 1606, 1612, 1626; of the Rouen none has a date. I have not seen the edition which appears to have set the style, that of 1606; but there is a copy of the next, 1612, in the British Museum (misdated in the catalogue 1611), and from this it is evident that the Rouen

three imitated closely the Lyons three in 'format', type, and illustrations. In all, the illustrations are few and mostly of second-rate quality. The subjects are so vague and general that it is impossible to say if any of them were designed specially for their present purpose. They fit the page very well. The Rouen editions seem the most common, and occur fairly often, sometimes in one volume and sometimes in two.

The Romance after this seems to have fallen quite out of favour, like the rest of its kin, and there is a long gap, till we come to its revival in the chap-books of Troyes, Lille, and Rouen. The earliest of these that I have seen is that of Troyes with the date 1705; and there were many succeeding. Every one knows these Troyes chap-books, and I need not describe them. But there is one very significant alteration of the text which marks the boundary-line separating the chap-book stage completely from the earlier editions. This is in the later part of the Romance, in one of the additions to the original story called *Ide and Olive*. The heroine *Ide*, dressed as a man, has done great deeds of prowess on behalf of the Emperor of Rome, whose daughter *Olive* of course falls in love with the victorious hero; there follows the discovery of her sex, and she is condemned to be burned. The next chapter-heading runs as follows: 'Comment nostre Sire feist grans miracles pour Yde, car il la fist estre homme, dont l'Empereur et Olive eurent grant joye.' With a great odour of incense an angel arrives and announces this miracle, and all goes merry as a marriage bell. But by the year 1700 the angel as *Deus ex machina* had lost his reality, and the miracle its credibility. In the chap-book version the original female *Ide* is left to be burned while *Olive* marries a prince of the same name, 'à fin de ne point corrompre cette histoire.' Could banality descend to a lower depth, or poverty of invention go more naked and unashamed?

Huon de Bordeaux, early editions.

(* Only known through Brunet's account. † Not in Brunet.)

- † 1. Paris, M. le Noir : 26 November 1513 : fol.
- 2. Paris, M. le Noir : 24 December 1516 : fol. (sometimes with Jehan Petit's name instead).
- * 3. Paris, Jehan Trepperel, s.d. : 4to.
- † 4. Paris, Denys Janot, s.d. : 4to.
- * 5. Lyons, Olivier Arnoullet, s.d. : 4to.
- 6. Paris, Jehan Bonfons, s.d. : 4to.
- * 7. Paris (no information), 1566 : 8vo.
- 8. Lyons, Benoist Rigaud, 1586 : 4to.
- * 9. Lyons (no information), 1606 : 8vo.
- 10. Lyons, Pierre Rigaud, 1612 : sm. 8vo.
- † 11. Rouen, Louys Costé, s.d. : sm. 8vo.
- 12. Rouen, Veufue L. Costé, s.d. : sm. 8vo.
- * 13. Lyons, J. Huguetant, 1626 : sm. 8vo.

Chap-book editions.

Troyes, Jacques Oudot, 1705 : 4to.

Do. do. 1707 (priv. 1705) : 4to.

Do. do. (approbation to his widow, 26 May 1723) : 4to.

Do. Veuve Oudot & Jean Oudot fils (permission confirmed July 1725) : 4to.

Do. as the last, but second part dated on title-page 1727.

(There are at least two different settings up of the type in editions with permissions of the same date.)

Troyes, Pierre Garnier, permission 1726 : 4to.

Lille, Veuve Pillot, permission without name of publisher 1726 : 4to.

Rouen, Leocrène-Labbey, s.d. (*circa* 1800) : 8vo.

MELUSINE

Any bibliography of the Romance of *Melusine* must perforce take account of its literary history, because of the different versions of the different printed editions. These, however, all derive from the lengthy but interesting compilation of Jean d'Arras; and therefore for bibliographical purposes it is not necessary to go behind that, or attempt to analyse the various elements out of which this writer compounded his 'History'. To students of folklore and romance such an analysis presents very great interest, as well as to genealogists occupying themselves in the attempt to disentangle fact from fiction in the history of the House of Lusignan. Some effort at such disentanglement was made as long ago as 1587 by a member of that House¹; but beyond its bibliographical interest the book has little claim to attention. The most recent work dealing with the subject is that of Jules Baudot, *Les Princesses Yolande et les Ducs de Bar . . . première partie, Mélusine*, 8vo, Paris, 1900.

The Romance exists in three different forms; but these are not separate and distinct versions of the story, the second being derived directly from the first, the third directly from the second.

1. *Melusine*: Romance in prose compiled by Jean d'Arras, 1387-93.

a. Exists in several manuscripts, one in the British Museum (Harley 4418).

b. Printed by Steinschaber at Geneva, 1478.

c. Edited from this edition by Ch. Brunet in the *Bibl. Elzév.*, 1854.

d. Englished about 1500. Unique manuscript in British Museum: Royal 18 B, ii.

¹ Les genealogies de soixante et sept très-nobles et très-illustres maisons . . . par R. P. Estienne de Cypre, de la Royale Maison de Lusignan: 4to, Paris, G. Lenoir, 1587.

- e. Edited from this manuscript by A. K. Donald, Early English Text Society, 1895.
- f. English version condensed and modernized in John Ashton's *Romances of Chivalry*, London, 1887.¹
- 2. The *Roman de Parthenay*, or *Roman de Lusignan*, an abridgement and partial rearrangement of Jean d'Arras' Romance in verse by a poet named Coudrette (or Coudrecte).
 - a. Exists in a good many manuscripts, one in the British Museum: Add. 6796.
 - b. Edited by Francisque Michel, Niort, 1854.
 - c. Englished about 1500-1520. Unique manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge.
 - d. Edited from this manuscript by W. W. Skeat, Early English Text Society, 1866.
- 3. *Melusina*, German prose version rendered from Coudrette's poem.
 - a. Exists in manuscripts. (See Schorbach, *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, i. 138.)
 - b. First printed by Bämmler, Augsburg, 1474 (copy in British Museum, G 19934). Very numerous subsequent editions.
 - c. A fairly close English version from a modern German edition by Mrs. Leighton in *Mediaeval Legends*, London, 1895.

The existence of a second and derivatory form of the romance must be put down to two causes: firstly, to the prolixity of the original compilation, and secondly to the unskilful and ill-balanced plan of it. Jean d'Arras, excellent as he is in description and narrative, shows himself anything but

¹ For bibliographical purposes account must also be taken of 'Geoffroy à la grand dent', a portion of the prose romance of Jean d'Arras, first printed by Olivier Arnoullet, Lyons, 1549. There is a modern French version by Alfred Delvau in the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque Bleue*, vol. iii, p. 289, as well as a version of Melusine in modern French.

skilful in the construction of a long story, or the management of a drama complicated by many details and side-shows. Possibly, too, he was hampered by instructions from his patron and the necessity of glorifying the House of Lusignan. The result is that the comparatively simple and engrossing story of Melusine is interrupted by an immense interpolation relating at full length the deeds of four of her sons, how they conquered great kingdoms and gained wealthy wives. The Romance, indeed, might be divided into four parts : the first telling the early history of Raymond and Melusine ; the second, the feats of the four sons above mentioned ; the third, the continuation of the story of Melusine proper ; and the last, the adventures of Geoffrey of the Great Tooth.

It is not surprising to find that a later lord of the House of Lusignan commissioned a professional poet to rewrite the Romance ; and in the poem of Couldrette the inconveniences and misproportions of the prose romance have been skilfully rectified by an evidently practised hand. The whole has been reduced to about one-third of its original length ; the unwieldy interruption has been cut down to a few side episodes that are worked into the general plan of the story without undue distraction ; and a judicious rearrangement in a few places has markedly improved the scheme of the story, and given it more cohesion and dramatic development.

But together with the considerable gain in briskness and sustained interest there is also a very perceptible loss in vividness and realistic quality. The original prose romance displays a somewhat remarkable power of graphic description and genuine character-drawing. The incidents of fight and foray suggest strongly that the writer had himself witnessed scenes of the kind ; and the 'berserker' character of Geoffrey of the Great Tooth, who always swears 'by the tooth of God', is well sustained and 'convincing' enough for the work of a modern novelist. In the Court poet's smug octosyllabic

couplets most of these qualities disappear or are softened down; and the interest of the story as mere story is brought out and made paramount. If we imagine *Rob Roy* cut down and condensed and retold in pretty drawing-room versification, we have a fairly adequate picture of the difference between the *Melusine* of Jean d'Arras and the *Roman de Parthenay* of Couldrette.

This disquisition on its literary history has been necessary to explain the bibliography of the Romance. The poem of Couldrette itself was not indeed printed in early days; but it was this and not the original romance that was rendered in the German prose version which is the editio princeps of *Melusine*, and which won such popularity for the story in Germany that no fewer than thirty editions were printed in the course of the next hundred and fifty years. Further, it was the early German editions that first illustrated the book with woodcuts; and, as so often happened in the case of romances and other books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the earliest illustrations set the mode for all succeeding, and these early German woodcuts were copied and imitated not only in the German editions of the German version of *Melusine*, but also in French editions of the French or original version. And in this lies the explanation of a curious fact which must have struck every reader of the French prose romance as reprinted in the *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne* (the only accessible form of the original), namely, the extraordinary difference in length of the chapters as marked by the chapter-headings, some occupying but a page or two, and others extending over twenty, thirty, even sixty pages. The fact is that these apparent chapter-headings were intended not so much for 'arguments' of the sections into which they divide the work as for explanations of the illustrations to which they were attached. The first edition of the French or original text of Jean d'Arras, printed at Geneva, was illustrated with copies

of the cuts in the earlier German edition, and the explanations of these cuts were translated into French and printed with the cuts in places to suit the French version, which as we saw is three times as long as the German. It followed naturally that there are very long passages in the French with no illustration and no picture-title, and therefore (in the unillustrated text) with no 'chapter-heading' or division of any kind. Had the modern text of the *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne* been taken from a manuscript instead of from the Genevan edition, the work would no doubt have shown a better system of divisions. The manuscript in the British Museum has but some six or eight illustrations, but is divided by chapter-headings into one hundred and sixteen chapters (as against sixty-five in the Genevan edition), according to the natural breaks or divisions of the subject-matter.¹

A full account and list of the German editions is easy of access in Schorbach's article in the *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, vol. i, p. 132 (June 1897). And Brunet mentions fourteen French editions, of which four are Incunabula. The first printed edition, containing the earliest series of woodcut illustrations, is by general agreement the German edition printed by Bämle at Augsburg and bearing the date 1474, of which by great good fortune the British Museum possesses a very fine copy. The cuts in this are of early workmanship and design; but from them all succeeding are derived directly or indirectly. The next set of cuts appears in the German edition without place, date, or name of printer, which Schorbach and other authorities attribute to Bernhard Richel of Basle, and date between 1474 and 1478. Schorbach asserts that these cuts are copied from the illustrations in a manuscript actually existing in the University Library at Basle. I live in hopes some day of testing this assertion for

¹ This manuscript is slightly imperfect at the beginning, and possibly one or two miniatures and chapter-headings are missing.

myself. Comparing these cuts with the Bämle, one would naturally assume that they were improved and enlarged reproductions of the earlier designs; just as the Husz and Le Roy cuts were intended to improve upon the Ortuin in the case of the Roman de la Rose. The first French edition is almost certainly later than this; and the cuts in it are copies, sometimes reversed, of its woodcuts. It was published not in France but at Geneva, and is dated 1478. M. Claudin was certainly misled in supposing that the copying was the other way about: he only knew the Richel series from their after appearance in a Lyons edition of the French version, and imagined that they were of French workmanship.

All the early editions of *Melusine* are so extremely rare that it is impossible to find copies of more than one or two in the same library or collection; and hence the comparison and inquiry as to their relation to one another is very difficult. The Netherlands series described in Sir Martin Conway's *Woodcutters of the Netherlands* was first printed in 1491, and may therefore be derived from one or other of these three earlier series; but from mere description it is impossible to say; and all editions containing these cuts appear to be out of reach except at the cost of such journeying as Sir Martin himself undertook for the purpose of his work above mentioned.

Leaving the other sets aside, there are a few particulars with regard to the Richel cuts which I think are of sufficient interest to place before the Bibliographical Society in a connected way. Originating at Basle, as illustrations to the German version, the cuts seem almost immediately to have passed on to Lyons, and reappear in three editions of the French version of *Melusine* printed there. (The relations of the printers and publishers of Basle and Lyons were close in early days.) These three editions are described by M. Claudin in his third volume, all being of the utmost rarity. Of the first, printed by Ortuin and Schenk, only two copies, both

imperfect, are known. The next was issued by Guillaume Le Roy, and of that also only two copies exist, one of which is in the Douce Collection in Bodley's. Of the third, printed by Mathieu Husz, M. Claudin mentions only one copy—that at Chantilly. I have examined both copies of the second of these rare editions—at the Arsenal and at the Bodleian; and I found that the full series of the Richel cuts is reproduced in the book, with the exception of a single cut in the middle, and of the four illustrations at the end which illustrated the four chapters not existing in the French version of the Romance, in which therefore these four cuts had no *raison d'être*.

Besides these three Lyons editions, there is an edition in Spanish in which most of these same cuts appear, together with a few traced-cuttings reversed, replacing the original blocks. A copy of this is in the British Museum. It was printed at Toulouse in 1489; and strange as it seems to find perishable and easily injured wood-blocks wandering to and fro in this manner, it appears pretty certainly to have been issued between the second and third of the three Lyons editions, the last of which M. Claudin places conjecturally about 1494, five years later than the date in the Spanish book. This is confirmed by the appearance in the Lyons edition of a reduced copy of the scene of Riding under the Stars in place of the original cut which was still in place in the Toulouse edition.

In the Toulouse impression of these cuts there is an interesting little specimen of wood-cutting craft noticeable in one of the blocks. The cut is used twice; in the first use the formidable tusk which always marks Geoffrey of the Big Tooth had evidently got broken off the wood-block, and does not appear, nor does the mark like a lion's claw on his brother Anthony's cheek. But when the same cut is used later there is the big tooth again, reinserted by some device of the wood-cutter, though perceptibly different from that which had been broken; and the lion's claw mark also appears again.

From these Richel cuts were copied the several series which illustrate succeeding German editions, such as those published by Knoblochtzer at Strasburg, which are in the British Museum, and the smaller and worse edition of Knobloch, in which the little cuts are almost despicably bad, although this wretched edition was priced at over a hundred pounds in a bookseller's catalogue not long before the war.

In Mr. John Ashton's *Romances of Chivalry* are small reproductions of sixteen of the Richel cuts. Both Mütther and Claudin give full-sized facsimiles of some few of them.

As was said above, the chapter-headings in the earliest German editions are really only picture-titles, describing not the contents of the coming chapter but the particular scene in it which the woodcut illustrates. Those in the Richel edition, and their accompanying illustrations, correspond almost exactly to those in the Bämmler edition; and the illustrations appear to have been certainly founded upon those in the earlier book, with the ambitious improvements of a more highly developed art. There is a slight difference in the numbers in the two editions, the earlier, Bämmler, containing seventy cuts with a few repeats among them, or sixty-three separate cuts. Richel has sixty-seven cuts with no repeats.¹ This difference is partly accounted for by the Richel cutter cutting separate designs for cuts which were repeated in Bämmler, which would naturally give the former seven more than its exemplar. But on the other hand Bämmler twice gives two cuts to a single picture-title where Richel only has one, and also in two places he has a cut where Richel for some reason has none. Owing to the rearrangement of

¹ All existing copies of the Richel edition appear to be imperfect; but from a comparison of several the above number of cuts has been computed to be what a perfect copy should contain. The numbers given here for the Bämmler edition are taken from the excellent copy in the British Museum, but Hain

*11064) mentions a difference in copies.

the story in Couldrette's version, there are in the German printed editions two stories at the end which are not there in the French prose romance—one is the tale of Melior who kept the Castle of the Sparrow-hawk; the other, of Palatine (or Palestine) who guarded the treasure of her father Helmas. The illustrations to these, four in number, are naturally omitted in the French printed editions, although both stories are in fact merely amplifications of what in Jean d'Arras is told, very briefly, in the prefatory part of his romance. See *Melusine*, *Bibl. Elzéev.*, p. 24.

It is to be hoped that some day facsimile reproductions may be made of all the three earliest editions of *Melusine*, the German editions of Bämmler and Richel, and the French of Steinschaber. The exact relations of one to the other could then be clearly defined.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

Held 19 January 1920.

Previous to the Annual Meeting the following Annual Report and Balance Sheet were circulated by means of the Society's *News Sheet*.

ANNUAL REPORT

Like the rest of the world the Bibliographical Society has found the last twelvemonth unusually difficult, and perhaps all that can be claimed in this Annual Report is that it has been successfully kept going. Vol. XIV of our *Transactions* has been issued, the *Bibliography of Landor*, and the second volume of Prof. Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious Verse* are all in type, and most of the copy for *Transactions*, Vol. XV, has been sent to the printer. Our monthly meetings have been fairly well attended. Twenty-two new British Members have been elected.

All this shows that the Society is thoroughly alive, but it does not seem possible at present to see ahead with sufficient certainty to find a trustworthy financial basis for a new programme of work. Some increase in the annual subscription in the near future seems inevitable, and the Society will be asked to decide as to this at a special meeting, held before one of the ordinary meetings, in the course of the year. Meanwhile it is recommended that the Roll of the Society shall still be kept open in view of possible resignations should the subscription be raised.

The only important change now to be announced is that in order to print the papers read before the Society much

more quickly than has hitherto been possible, our *Transactions* will henceforth be published in quarterly parts, probably in March, June, September, and December, and by way of lessening the cost of this it is proposed to permit copies to be bought by non-members and to accept advertisements. How much extra matter besides the papers read before the Society can be printed will depend on finance, but it is hoped that room will at least be found for a record of the chief bibliographical books published and for reviews. It is hoped, also, that *The Library*, founded by Sir John MacAlister in 1888, which has already enjoyed a longer life than any other British periodical of the kind, may be brought into the scheme, and that the quarterly numbers may be gradually worked up into a full bibliographical magazine.

As a result of the projected quarterly publication of our *Transactions* the Society's *News Sheet*, started by Mr. Pollard at the beginning of his Secretaryship, will shortly cease to appear.

In order that the difference in the prices of our older books and those now being printed may not be too glaring the Council has sanctioned small increases in the charges for the older publications, rising to 50 per cent. in the case of those of which the stock is now much reduced. On the other hand the price of Vols. VII—X of our *Transactions*, of which there are rather more copies in stock than of the later volumes, has been temporarily reduced from 10s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. each, and the Index to Vols. I—X from 6s. to 4s. 6d. It is hoped that members who have joined the Society since these were issued will help our finances by buying them. This lowered price comes into force at once, the increases as soon as the new prices are circulated in the forthcoming reprint of our List of Members. Until that is issued such of our books as are not reserved for sale in sets can be bought at the old prices.

BALANCE SHEET

From 1 January to 31 December 1919.

RECEIPTS.				PAYMENTS.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Balance (1 Jan., 1919) +				Printing, Paper, Casing, and			
£100 on Deposit . . .	500	13	5	Distribution	546	3	6
British Entrance Fees . .	22	1	0	Rent	23	2	0
British Subs., 1916-1918 . .	30	9	0	Expenses of Meetings . .	12	4	6
„ 1919	245	14	0	Income Tax	2	0	6
„ 1920	13	13	0	Bank Charges	0	9	7
British Life Member . . .	12	12	0	Hon. Treasurer (for Petty			
Interest on Deposit and In-				Cash)	4	0	0
vestments	14	7	11	Secretarial Expenses, 1918 .	2	19	0
Sale of Publications to Mem-				„ „ 1919	2	14	6
bers	118	16	11	U.S.A. Hon. Treasurer's Ex-			
United States Entrance Fees				penses (=Subscription) . .	1	1	0
and Subscriptions	191	16	4	Insurance	1	11	9
Foreign Subs., 1919	6	5	9	Research Work	25	0	0
„ 1920	2	1	1	Expenses for Society's Li-			
				brary	5	8	0
				Cheque returned	1	1	0
				Balance at Bank (31 Dec.,			
				1919) + £100 on Deposit .	530	15	1
	£1,158	10	5		£1,158	10	5

R. F. SHARP, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Examined with vouchers and found correct.

ALEXR. NEALE.

JAMES P. R. LYELL.

3 January 1920.

ASSETS.				LIABILITIES.			
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
£300 2½% Consols Bonds @				Estimated liability for 27			
£51	153	0	0	Life Members	283	10	0
£100 3½% New South Wales				Subscriptions received in ad-			
Bond	88	0	0	vance	13	13	0
£100 5% Exchequer Bond . .	98	0	0	Estimated cost of completing			
Estimated value of Stock of				and sending out books for			
Publications	800	0	0	the year and other printing	500	0	0
Balance of Account for 1919	530	15	1				
Subscriptions in arrear, about	3	3	0				

ANNUAL MEETING

The Society held its Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting at 4.45 p.m. on Monday, 19 January 1920, under the shadow of a great loss, Sir William Osler, its President for seven years, who had done more than any other man to keep it alive during the War, having died, after the Annual Report was in the hands of members, on 29 December 1919.

In the absence of a President Sir Frederic Kenyon, V.P., Director of the British Museum, was called to the Chair, and conducted the business of the first part of the Annual Meeting.

The minutes of the previous Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Annual Report and Balance Sheet were taken as read, and after remarks on the Balance Sheet by Mr. R. F. Sharp and on the Report by Mr. Redgrave, their adoption was moved from the chair and carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks to Mr. A. W. Pollard for his work on the *News Sheet* during the last 26 years was proposed from the chair and carried by acclamation.

Mr. P. S. Allen proposed the re-election of the Officers and Council of the Society, Dr. Henry Thomas taking the place of Mr. Charles Sayle as a Member of Council. This was seconded by Mr. Bourdillon and carried.

Sir Frederic Kenyon proposed the election of Mr. Falconer Madan as President of the Society. This was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Falconer Madan, having taken the chair, proposed the following resolution :

‘That this Society records its gratitude for the conspicuous services rendered by its late President, Sir William Osler, during his seven years’ tenure of office, and its deep sense of the loss occasioned by his death alike to Medicine, Literature, and Bibliography.’

In proposing this resolution Mr. Madan said : Sir William Osler's many friends had indulged in the hope that after his 70th birthday, so finely celebrated in London on 11 July 1919, he would have gradually put aside, not his aims or his energy, but what may be termed the decorative part of his honours and work, and would have given some ten, or even twenty years of vigorous life and mellow wisdom to subjects in which his abiding interests lay. As he himself said, on the occasion referred to, the love of his life had been given equally to books and men, and in both he would have delighted to the end. But it was not to be.

Of his eminence in his own profession, of his powers of mind and memory, his faculty of organizing and his unmeasured friendliness and sympathy, much has been written since his death : but of his passion for the history and literature of Medicine, for old and interesting books in general, and for the bibliography of them, hardly enough. Few notices of him have even mentioned that he was the President of this Society for the last seven years, and took an active part in its proceedings and in safeguarding its interests and life during the troublous times of the War.

To the Bodleian he was a firm and constant friend : the Library was his admiration and delight, and as a Curator and a member of the Standing Committee he had considerable influence on its administration. He promoted the establishment of the room for students of music, as well as the Science Research Room at the Camera, and when a good opportunity for a special purchase presented itself he was among the first to offer liberal support and to engage the interest of friends. Perhaps no part of the Library appealed more to his feelings than the wonderful collection of books, grave and gay, massive and light, out-of-the-way and trivial, which came to the Bodleian under the will of Robert Burton, the author of the immortal *Anatomy of Melancholy*. That collection

contains the sources of a work which more than any other combined Sir William's chief interests—humanity, literature, and medicine. It cannot be doubted that had he been spared for a further period of leisure and activity, he would have carried out a scheme which was near to his heart and of which he often used to talk to the present speaker—the preparation of a final edition of that great Oxford work, based on a collation of the early editions (to be undertaken by a committee of friends), and furnished with annotations by the master's hand.

But it is impossible to close even these few words without dwelling for a moment on the larger features of Osler's life. His experience led him to the view that a man is sane morally at 30, rich mentally at 40, wise spiritually at 50, if ever; and that his really effective work is done between the ages of 25 and 40. Among his avowed principles three at least were prominent, and in their simplest form were these: to do the day's work well, not caring overmuch for the morrow; to obey the golden rule, 'do as you would be done by', towards friends and patients; and to acquire equanimity alike in success and sorrow. If he came to you as a friend, he had a way of drawing up his chair to yours, as though all his time were at your disposal, with looks and words of infinite compassion, if you were in ill case, of helpful encouragement if you were striving against hindrances, and sympathetic comprehension if you were in doubt and difficulty. These qualities are akin to the divine. Sir William's friends all over the world feel his loss with personal pain and imperishable regret, not only from his great and varied gifts of mind and intellect, but more than all because those gifts were combined with real human kindness of heart, and because his whole life was devoted to the welfare and betterment of his fellow men.

The motion was seconded by Sir d'Arcy Power, who bore testimony to the wonderful versatility of Sir W. Osler's mind, and supported by Mr. P. S. Allen, who said that hardly

a week passed during Sir William's residence in Oxford without his spending some hours in the Bodleian Library ; and not only there was his love of his books shown, but also at Corpus, at Merton, and at Ewelme. His interest never seemed to cease in any matter where books were concerned. His own library was collected, not as a series of treasures by reason of their rarity or obvious arts, but because he regarded them as instruments for the advancement of knowledge.

The motion was carried, the members rising silently in their places to signify their assent.

The Annual Meeting was then closed.

MR. WINSHIP'S ANNUAL LETTER ON BIBLIOGRAPHICAL WORK
IN THE UNITED STATES

The important bibliographical event of the year in the United States is the appearance of the ' Check List of English Literature before 1640 ' in Mr. Henry E. Huntington's library. It is issued in unpretentious form, as befits an incidental preliminary to a catalogue which is already well in hand, and which hopes to improve upon that of the E. D. Church library, which is to be embodied in it. The Huntington Check List is none the less a model, better than any other of equal extent, of how to list the possessions of a library. The titles are abbreviated, but not beyond the point of ready identification nor of sufficient suggestion of contents. The summary collations give exactly what, and all, any one needs in order to test the completeness of another copy. Where the compilers are aware of variations in copies that might be supposed to be identical, the precise word or page that needs to be examined is succinctly and specifically set forth.

' A Thackeray Library ' is a catalogue of a private collection prepared by the owner, Mr. H. S. Van Duzer, with such intelligence and thoroughness that it is assured permanent

value as a bibliography. It has most of the technical faults that one expects in titles of books put together by the non-professional collector with the aid of his book-selling friends and without that of competent proof readers. The fact that these faults are so common is the best evidence that scarcely anyone ever notices such details as inconsistency in alphabetizing or in the arrangement of title-entries and collations, and that consequently these things do not greatly matter. They ordinarily mean that the printing bill was larger than it need have been, but so long as the payer does not object, the user need not. Mr. Van Duzer has made his catalogue a real bibliography by including, without typographical distinction, all of the very few titles that he has failed to secure as yet, and by stating in the notes whatever he knows about the publication of each work.

Two catalogues have appeared during the year that have been awaited with keen anticipations, that of the Harry Elkins Widener Collection and Part I of Volume I of the John Carter Brown Library. The Widener books, about 3,500 volumes, are described in five volumes. Two of these contain in alphabetical order the headings, which are not always the author's name, omitting Cruikshank, Dickens, and Stevenson, each of whom has a separate volume. The plan of the catalogue was determined by Mr. Widener in the *Catalogue of some of the more important Books, Manuscripts, and Drawings* in his possession, which he prepared himself and issued in 1910, three years after he graduated from college. It is a model of devoted diligence and painstaking accuracy. In accordance with this standard the completed catalogue gives for such entries as the folio editions of Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, and Shakespeare, the number of the page on which each play begins and ends. It describes with approximate consistency each of the other title entries, which vary in character from the works of 'Lewis Carroll' and Kate

Greenaway to those of Charles Mathews and Rowlandson. For these as well as for most of the better known English and American authors, this catalogue gives a considerable amount of detail not ordinarily included in similar works.

The Stevenson volume of the Widener Catalogue was distributed in 1913, and has won its place through the importance of the collection and the care with which the books are described. The Dickens volume does not approach this in completeness, but compensates for its shortcomings in part by printing the text of a series of contracts between Dickens and Chapman & Hall, which give the collection some of its distinction. These relate to *Pickwick Papers* and *Nicholas Nickleby*, dated 18 November 1837, *Sketches by Boz* and *Master Humphrey's Clock*, 31 March 1840, *Oliver Twist*, 2 July 1840, and *Martin Chuzzlewit*, 7 September 1841. The Cruikshank volume of 279 pages describes 3,050 separate items, imprints, plates, drawings, and autographs, by, ascribed to, or associated with the men of that family. A plate signed 'Mary Cruikshank' came to light after the catalogue was printed. In nearly every instance the provenance of the item is given, and as most of these came from the Douglass, Galloway, Truman, and Bement collections, and many of them have George Cruikshank's notations on them, students of his work are likely to rely upon this catalogue for their conclusions. This volume has an index.

The John Carter Brown Library *Bibliotheca Americana* is printed with the perfection of typographic detail which characterizes everything that bears the imprint of Mr. Updike's Merrymount Press. The titles in this Part are given in full, with line endings, but a reference to Pollard (the British Museum Catalogue of Fifteenth Century Books), Brunet, and other authorities usually takes the place of a collation, and bibliographical and explanatory notes are omitted. The catalogue, however, is made more complete than its predecessor by

listing briefly the illuminated manuscripts, early printed books, Aldines, facsimiles, and reprints belonging to the library.

The English members of the Society may be interested in, and perhaps can supplement, two studies that are tucked away in the publications of American local societies. One is an account of Gregory Dexter, master printer and companion of Roger Williams, whose career is described by the librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society in its *Collections* for October 1919, with a list of 70 titles with which he had to do between 1641 and 1644. The other, by Alfred C. Potter of the Harvard Library, in the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts for March of this year, is an attempt to identify the 250 entries in the original list of the books left by John Harvard, which formed the nucleus from which the University library has grown. Forty of these defy him, although there must be some one who can see through *Chareus in Epist.* or *Household Phys.* of 1636. Harvard owned about 400 volumes, representing 329 titles. All but one of these books were burned with the rest of the college library in 1764, but Mr. Potter has succeeded in restoring, either in the identical edition or in one that John Harvard might have owned, over sixty per cent. of the titles identified.

Interest in books about the theatre has been stimulated by 'A Catalogue of the Allen A. Brown Collection of Books relating to the Stage in the Public Library of the City of Boston' and by 'The Development of Scenic Art and Stage Machinery, A List of References in the New York Public Library'. The New York list, of more than 2,471 entries, appeared in the library's *Monthly Bulletin*, and is arranged under 21 headings with author and subject indices. The Boston Catalogue occupies 952 pages with a dozen to twenty entries on a page. It will interest professional librarians as an illustration of the extent to which a large American library carries the practice of cross references, the titles

checked appearing, on an average, rather more than three times each. With these two should be mentioned the Sale Catalogue of books from the library of Evert J. Wendell, in six parts, 27 sessions, 8,212 numbers with a large proportion of bundles, because Mr. Wendell, who has been known as a most omnivorous collector of theatrical material, left his books to Harvard, and those offered at auction were such as the Harvard library presumably already possessed.

The University of Michigan General Library, which begins the New Year in its new building, inaugurates a series of 'Publications' with a catalogue of its Carlyle Collection, the gift of an enthusiastic collector who ranged the outskirts of his subject. Transylvania College in Kentucky has issued a list of its 171 'Rare and Curious Old Works on Medicine, Law, and the Humanities printed before 1700', most of which were apparently picked up, perhaps at attractive prices, by members of the college faculty travelling in Europe somewhat less than a hundred years ago. There are three English imprints before 1640, but no fifteenth century dates.

Robert E. Cowan of San Francisco has printed a 'Bibliography of the Spanish Press of California, 1833-1845', which would be wholly praiseworthy if it contained facsimiles. Fray Alonso de Benavides, who wrote on the natives of New Mexico in 1630, is the subject of a very workmanlike contribution by F. W. Hodge, the development of which is suggestive. This bibliography is No. 1 of Vol. III of the *Indian Notes and Monographs* issued by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. It is expanded from material put together in a volume printed privately at Chicago in 1916, which in turn was made up from a preliminary publication in *Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, California, 1900. The important new material in the present issue is from a contribution which appeared in the *Catholic Historical Review*, Washington, 1917.

G. P. WINSHIP.

REVIEWS

THE HAEBLER FESTGABE¹

THE war has delayed the publication of this bibliographical tribute to Dr. Haebler for more than two years after the event which it was intended to celebrate, but it has certainly suffered remarkably little in other respects from the adverse conditions under which it was produced. Paper and print are excellent, and it contains 43 plates and illustrations, including a portrait of the recipient. Apart from a bibliography of the latter's works, containing 228 items, it comprises nine essays by various hands. Seven of the authors are Dr. Haebler's own countrymen, the other two being Dr. Collijn, of the Stockholm Royal Library, and the Dutch incunabulist, Father Bonaventura Kruitwagen, but if it had not been for the unhappy events of the last five years this ratio would doubtless have been considerably modified, for it need hardly be said that Dr. Haebler's work stands in high and well-deserved repute wherever incunabula are studied.

The essays vary greatly in length and in general interest. Dr. Collijn, on a device used by Ghotan and others at Lübeck, Dr. Crous, on the incunabula of Münster i. W., and Dr. Schwenke, the head of the Berlin Library, on certain early German bookbinders' stamps, have written purely for the specialist. A somewhat wider appeal is made by Dr. Voulliéme's description of a number of early printed booksellers' lists and university lecturers' announcements, the most remarkable of which is a very handsome sheet in a type used by Jenson and extolling his workmanship, but apparently

¹ *Wiegendrucke und Handschriften*. Festgabe Konrad Haebler zum 60. Geburtstage dargebracht, &c., pp. 206. Hiersemann, Leipzig, 1919.

printed after his death by Herbort, his successor in the firm. Dr. Adolf Schmidt and Dr. Emil Jacobs have added to our knowledge of the practices of two apparently not over-scrupulous eighteenth-century bookmen, one of them German (Baron Hüpsch), the other French (Dom Maugérard). By way of contrast Dr. Freys introduces us to the entirely blameless figure of Johann Baptist Bernhart (1759-1821), who has claims to be regarded as the pioneer of the study of early typography and the first known predecessor of Proctor and Dr. Haebler. As 'scriptor' at the great Munich Library Bernhart had unique opportunities of acquainting himself with the types of the early German printers, and for many years he superintended the selection of books for Munich from the libraries of the secularized Bavarian monasteries, while during the stress of Napoleon's invasions it fell to him to arrange for the removal and safe custody of the principal treasures of the Library—a branch of librarianship which recently experienced a widespread and regrettable revival. His *Gesammelte Schriften*, as he punningly called them, consist partly of tracings of complete alphabets of types employed by nineteen early printers, with numbers under each printer, partly of a series of tracings of various forms of M and other letters, each form numbered and referred to the printer who used it in almost exactly the same way as in Dr. Haebler's *Typenrepertorium*. Bernhart's tracings, as here shown in facsimile, are admirably clear and exact, but cannot of course compete in accuracy with the photographic reproductions of to-day, and the task which he had set himself was in any case far beyond the powers of one man. Still, his effort deserves to be remembered. It would be interesting to know, by the way, who wrote the MS. note on the types in the Ulm incunabulum IA. 9375 (B.M. Cat. ii, p. 537). The handwriting does not appear to be Bernhart's, though it is of his period.

Father Kruitwagen's essay professes to deal only with

a single book, the *Antidotarium animae* of Servas Sanctus, a thirteenth-century Franciscan, but he really covers more ground than any of his collaborators. He has, in fact, taken up once again his favourite plea that the investigation of early printed editions, to be adequate, cannot stop at the purely typographical detail, but must make sure of the exact contents of the books as well. This sounds like a truism, but there is no doubt at all that the technical make-up of incunabula is in a far more advanced state of disentanglement than their literary make-up, and that the cataloguer is liable to have all sorts of surprises sprung upon him in consequence. Father Kruitwagen cites from Meuffrouw Kronenberg's excellent Catalogue of the Incunabula in the Deventer Athenaeum, which has made a special feature of such inquiries, the discovery that one and the same collection of scriptural examples, as arranged either alphabetically or by subjects, occurs in Hain under no less than four different titles, twice anonymously and twice as a work of S. Bonaventura, whereas its real author, one Nicolaus de Hanapis, is never mentioned at all.¹ While in this case four books reduce themselves to one, Father Kruitwagen, in the main part of his essay, demonstrates conversely that of three supposed editions of Saliceto's *Antidotarium* enumerated in Campbell's *Annales* (Nos. 1495, 1496, 1498) the first is really a totally different work, the author of which was the Servas Sanctus already mentioned. It is true that he has reached this happy result only by the expenditure of an amount of time and labour which the scheme of no large-scale catalogue could afford to a single book, but even a brief and unassuming contents-paragraph may often be a considerable help and should be more freely employed. Father Kruitwagen's counsel of perfection is that descriptions ought to include the first and last few words of the text itself in all cases.

¹ Hain nos. 3535, 3501-3, 6280-1, 6762-6.

Although in a sense it is the most highly specialized piece of work in the book, more than a simple mention is due to the long and fully illustrated monograph of Dr. Hermann Degering on the typography of the first (anonymous) edition of Vitruvius, *De architectura*, hitherto always ascribed to the press of Eucharius Silber at Rome and so catalogued in the British Museum Incunabula Catalogue, vol. iv, p. 124, IB. 19225. This is one of forty or so books, mostly small, printed with a rather heavy roman type of 111-14 mm. to the 20 lines, which came in about the year 1483 and occurs in signed work of Silber and Herolt at Rome and of Matthias Moravus at Naples. Of those not evidently Neapolitan, however, only about half a dozen are completely dated, and not quite so many signed, so that there remains a large number of tracts *sine nota*, all very much alike as to type but known to contain some fairly obvious variations in detail and suspected of concealing a good many more. The Museum Catalogue contented itself with classing nearly all these books with the work of Silber and pointing out some of the variants, without dogmatizing on the authenticity of the ascriptions. Dr. Degering has undertaken the formidable task of sorting them out systematically, with the result that he has distinguished among them four states of a type of ca. 112 mm. and three of a type of ca. 114 mm., the last two of which he assigns not to Silber at all but to a new 'Printer of Vitruvius', so called from his most important book, the edition of the *De architectura* which formed the starting-point of the examination. The present reviewer has had no leisure to check these conclusions, and in any case the minutiae on which they depend cannot be discussed here, but the fullest acknowledgement is certainly due to Dr. Degering's uncommon industry and patience. As to the Vitruvius itself, all the evidence appears to point to its having been printed about 1487 or a little later, certainly not after 1490,

and Dr. Degering has also made the interesting discovery, in a copy at Leipzig, of a variant setting up of the four preliminary leaves. This setting up is in the same type as the body of the book, *plus* a number of wrong-fount (gothic) D's, the frequent repetition of the word 'De' in the list of chapters having exhausted the printer's stock of the proper sort. For the more common setting up, however, not this type but Silber's type 114 (as classified by Dr. Degering) was employed and the greater regularity of its type-page shows clearly that this is the later of the two. The reasons assigned by the author to account for the existence of the two versions are scarcely convincing, and the simplest supposition is surely that an accident happened to the stock as first printed off, necessitating a reprint, while the fact that this reprint is in a type classified as Silber's by Dr. Degering himself suggests that Silber's connexion with the 'Printer of Vitruvius' was really a much closer one than he is willing to admit. Indeed, when we consider how similar the books of all the various groups are in general appearance, and how closely the type-page measurements correspond between them, we cannot help concluding that if they were produced by several printing offices, those offices were at any rate under the same control.

VICTOR SCHOLDERER.

THE INCUNABULA OF AN AUSTRIAN MONASTIC LIBRARY

SCHLÄGL is a little village in Upper Austria of some 200-300 inhabitants, of such small importance that it is only marked on a few large-scale maps. It is almost at the extreme northern point of Upper Austria, where Bavaria meets Bohemia, and is near the terminus of a railway leading north from Linz through Urfahr to Aigen.

It is said to contain a collection of pictures; but we are concerned at present with the early printed books preserved

there in a Premonstratensian Canonry ; these are now made accessible to us in a useful little catalogue¹ drawn up by the Librarian, Dom Gerlach Indra. It was published (at Linz) in 1918 to celebrate the seventh centenary of the foundation of the Canonry ; and it would seem to owe its inception to the bibliographical enterprise of Dom Norbert Schachinger, to whom we owe our knowledge of the incunabula treasures of the Abbey of Melk.

The Canonry possesses nearly 200 books printed before 1501, and almost the same number 1501-20. Dom Indra has given two lists of these, the first of them as near as may be in chronological order, the second (with shorter titles) under their authors. He has used Hain and Copinger, and the catalogues of a few other libraries, mostly monastic ; he has not given any references to Proctor's *Index*, and there is no attempt to arrange the books in their 'natural history' order.

The collection is rich in Strasburg books, which make a fine start with nine specimens of Mentelin's press. Augsburg, too, is very well represented, and from Nuremberg there are no less than five specimens of the work of the 'Fratres ordinis heremitarum', which are by no means commonly to be found. From Passau there are but three books (more might have been expected, owing to its comparative nearness to Schlägl), and the other Germanic town with any considerable number of the volumes to its credit is Basle. From Italy there are ordinary Venetian books, from France and the Low Countries almost nothing ; and the collection closes with a rarity in the shape of a production (Hain 2013) from the press of J. Alakraw at Winterberg.

A few points of interest arise from some of the descriptions.

¹ *Catalogus Incunabulorum Plagensium*. Edidit . . . Gerlacus Indra, Bibliothecarius et Custos Canoniae Plagensis (Schlägl). Lincii MDCCCXVIII. Prostat in libraria Ebenhoechiana.

No. 26 (Hain 7352). Did we realize that the full name of Joannes de Frankfordia was Joannes Legenator de Dyppurg?

No. 49 (Hain 7346). It is stated that on Dr. Haebler's authority this was printed by Conrad Winters of Homborch, at Cologne; there is no mention of it in Dr. Voulliéme's book on the Cologne Press.

No. 130 (Biblia latina cum apparatu). As the colophon apparently states that it was printed by Joh. Petri and J. Froben in 1493, their partnership must be put back a year from the date given by Proctor.

No. 152 (Proctor 561). The date is made 'not after 1492' by a buyer's inscription.

No. 153 (Proctor 557). 'The *Obiectiones in dicta Thalmut*, a book often printed in the fifteenth century, is said to have been written by one Fr. Theobaldus, Sub-prior of the Dominicans at Paris.

STEPHEN GASELEE.

OLD ENGLISH POETICAL ARCHETYPES¹

IN the extant manuscript of *Beowulf* the poem is divided into numbered sections of very unequal length which bear no relation to the subject matter and, indeed, sometimes begin in the middle of a sentence. Dr. Bradley has very plausibly conjectured (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s. v.) that they correspond to the rough sheets of the archetypal manuscript, and in the present paper he seeks to confirm his view by an investigation of the other Old English poems showing numbered sections. The most helpful as regards a general theory of the subject prove to be the *Genesis* and *Exodus* poems of the Junius Manuscript and *Elene* in the Codex Vercellensis. The bibliographical analysis needed by the

¹ The Numbered Sections in Old English Poetical MSS., by Henry Bradley. (A paper read before the British Academy, Nov. 24, 1915, reprinted from the Proceedings, Vol. VII.) London, Humphrey Milford, n.d. (8vo, 23 pages).

'Cædmon paraphrase is exceedingly intricate, and Dr. Bradley's brilliant handling throws a great deal of light on the structure of these perplexing pieces. When the mutilations of the existing manuscript, present and past transpositions, suspected lacunae and possible insertions have been allowed for, there emerges a very strong case for supposing that the manuscript from which the poems are ultimately derived consisted of a number of loose sheets, ending in every case both with a complete verse and a complete sentence (not a usual coincidence in Old English poetry), and each consisting of four pages of writing (probably sometimes stichic and sometimes continuous). At least, the postulated exceptions to either rule are rare if not insignificant. As regards Cynewulf's *Elene*, there are good reasons for supposing that the numbered sections are of precisely similar origin, except for the notable difference that they also correspond to logical divisions of the poem.

There can, I think, be little question that Dr. Bradley is correct in regarding the numbered sections as equivalent to the sheets of an archetypal manuscript: the weak point of the theory appears to lie in the absence of any reason why the *Genesis-Exodus* sheets should have been made to end with a verse and a period, or why *Elene* should have been composed in sections of uniform length.

Now in the latter case it is quite evident that the sections are due to the author himself, who has divided his work structurally into a number of parts, and yet these parts are apparently *also* arbitrarily determined by the sheets of the original manuscript. In spite of Dr. Bradley's remarks on the very governable Pegasus of Old English religious poets, which are undeniably true, the suggestion that Cynewulf allowed the length of his cantos to be dictated by the size of the sheets of parchment he happened to be using appears to me, I confess, rather futile. Surely it is far more likely that the

poem was specially written for reading at a series of uniform sittings, say during meals, and that each canto was written on a separate four-page sheet for convenience of carrying. Such an hypothesis will account for the facts in the case of *Elene*, but how about the 'Cædmon' poems? Here the divisions are not structural, but they are nevertheless metrical. The former fact forbids our supposing that the paraphrase was originally written for periodic reading: yet the latter again, to my mind, makes it improbable that the divisions are what I should call purely archetypal, for I find it very hard to believe that the most mechanical of poets would close a verse and a period together merely because he had come to the end of the sheet he was writing. There must have been some ground more relative than this, and I suggest that here we have an originally undivided work subsequently arranged in cantos on the same lines and for the same purpose as *Elene*. Dr. Bradley maintains that the manuscript in which the numeration arose must have been autograph, arguing very plausibly that to imagine a copyist altering the text so as to make the verse, period, and sheet coincide would be absurd. But I imagine he will admit that the absurdity disappears if we suppose an adequate motive for the alteration. I am aware that the hypothesis advanced is not without difficulties, and that it may necessitate some re-interpretation of the evidence, but it has perhaps sufficient antecedent plausibility to merit consideration.

I append a few notes on particular bibliographical points.

Page 8, diagram. Instead of assuming an original inversion of the second sheet (*b*, *e*), I should suspect that in the course of reparation *b* and *c* were fastened together so as to form a single sheet and this sheet inverted. It is true that Dr. Bradley says (page 12, note 2) that 'the introversion of the middle sheet of a written quire would be a very unlikely accident', but I cannot myself regard it as more improbable than the

inversion of the second sheet (both are quite possible), while such a derangement would be far more likely to happen in the course of repairs than in the original sewing.

Page 8, table. The first line is misleading and likely to cause confusion owing to 'Section II' being written when only the latter portion of it is in question.

Page 9, line 20: 'sheet X happened to be lying inside out, so that the number was placed on the second page.' No, if the sheet had been lying inside out the numeral would have been placed on the third page (cf. page 10, line 28), and we should have had a discrepancy of 35, not of 17, verses. To secure the required result the sheet must have been lying not only inside out but backside foremost; a most unlikely supposition. Dr. Bradley's doubt as to the 'X' being intended for a numeral is confirmed.

Page 12, line 21. Professor Napier's and Dr. Bradley's explanations of the *Exodus* transposition alike necessitate our supposing that certain page divisions of the earlier codex coincided with verse divisions. Since there is no evidence that Old English codices were ever written stichically this seems a serious objection. Waiving this, it appears to me much less unlikely that the middle sheet of a quire should be accidentally inverted (Napier), than that a single leaf which had once been correctly inserted should be replaced the wrong way round (Bradley).

W. W. GREG.

RIVINGTONS¹

MR. SEPTIMUS RIVINGTON has done well in bringing out an enlarged and revised edition of *The Publishing House of Rivingtons*, which he compiled and published in 1894, soon

¹ *The Publishing Family of Rivingtons*. By Septimus Rivington, M.A. Rivingtons, London, 1919, pp. xv, 182.

after he gained the right to use his family name in his new business. He had dissolved partnership with his brother Francis in May 1889 and a year later the original business had been sold to Longmans, after an unbroken existence of 179 years, to which may be added nearly another half-century of pre-existence in the hands of Chiswell. In its earlier form Mr. Rivington's book has been a quarry from which writers on bookselling and publishing have drawn freely, and in this enlarged edition it will be indispensable to all students of the English book-trade since the days of the first Copyright Act, with which the purchase of Chiswell's business by Charles Rivington was nearly contemporaneous. Here may be found records of transactions with Prior and Pope, and of the mysteries of the bookselling association known as the Conger, an autobiographical letter from Smollett, notes on Johnson's Dictionary and Shakespeare, and the story of the *British Critic* from its foundation in 1793, with Beloe and Nares as its editors, to its dissolution fifty years later in consequence of troubles brought on the firm by its Tractarian editors.

Besides the literary and bibliographical interest of Mr. Septimus Rivington's book it would be worth reading if only for the diversity of character in the successive heads of the firm. One member of it broke away to New York, where he edited a newspaper and only escaped a horsewhipping by the adroitness with which he persuaded an angry visitor to try his Madeira. But the brother of this James, John Rivington (1720-92) who went twice a day to service at St. Paul's, equipped with gold-headed cane and a nosegay, was much more typical. Midway between them we may place a Charles Rivington (1754-1831) who went to theatres and dances, and at least one race, and as a member of the 'Military Association' steadfastly attended the executions of Gordon rioters, though his comrades, who at first numbered two hundred,

fell off first to a hundred and then to fifty. It seems difficult to believe that this energetic young volunteer, born 166 years ago, was the grandfather of the Septimus Rivington to whom we owe the present book. But, as the author himself notes, the family has been at once long-lived and prolific.

A. W. P.

NOTES

THE Third Series of *The Library* was brought to a close without any valedictory address from Sir John MacAlister, whose courage in the face of difficulties had kept it alive for thirty years, a much longer term than any other bibliographical magazine has attained in England. Perhaps it will be well to let the Fourth Series begin as quietly as its predecessor ended. It may be explained, however, that it is proposed to give precedence in each number to the papers recently read before the Bibliographical Society, and to use such space as remains for reviews and miscellaneous articles. Under present conditions it is impossible to continue one feature of *The Library*, the excellent articles by Miss Elizabeth Lee on 'recent foreign literature'; but it is hoped that the bibliographical contributors to the last two series will continue to write for the magazine in its new form, and that new features of interest may gradually be developed.

One of the most interesting articles in our last volume was the quaintly named 'The Extra Gill and the Full Quart Pot' in which Mr. G. W. Cole enumerated some of the means by which nine extra lines were inserted into two pages of thirty-seven lines each in a pamphlet entitled: 'A True Coppie of a Discourse written by a Gentleman, employed in the late Voyage of Spaine and Portingale,' 1589. Two correspondents have written to point out that in addition

to the other devices mentioned by Mr. Cole the lines in the reprint were lengthened by one-eighteenth, thus accounting for four of the added nine. Two others, as Mr. Cole noted, were gained by adding to the height of the pages, and a little over three by contractions and shorter spellings, the devices which are denied to modern printers.

The Library offers its congratulations to *The Bodleian Quarterly Record* on completing its second volume and sixth year. The *B.Q.R.* (like this magazine) has not been run for profit, and it was Sir William Osler who wiped off adverse balances. If any member of the Bibliographical Society who does not already take the *Record* wishes to honour our late President's memory at a small expense he should send Bodley's Librarian 14s. for a three years' subscription, post free, and will profit greatly by the transaction.

A. W. P.

The Library

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THE DANIEL PRESS AT FROME AND OXFORD

By FALCONER MADAN¹

OXFORD is fortunate in possessing, not only a large and important University Press, but also a private press of considerable note. The latter centres in the person of the late Rev. C. H. O. Daniel, Provost of Worcester College from 1903 until his death on 6 September 1919, when he had almost completed his eighty-third year: and its master motive appears to be different from that of any other private presses with which I am acquainted, for it is neither secret propagandism, nor personal pleasure, nor to preserve special literature, nor with the aesthetic aim of improving the art of printing, least of all for monetary gain, but primarily to give pleasure to the Printer's literary friends. Its characteristics may be presented as follows.

It may be doubted if any personal press of note has ever begun so early in the Printer's life, and been maintained for seventy-four years by one person. The Daniel Press began in Trinity Vicarage at Frome in Somerset in 1845, and ended at Oxford in 1919, when a posthumous issue of Sir Nicholas Bacon's *Recreations of his Age* was published. It had four stages: No press, a toy-press, a small hand-press, and a good hand-press. The third stage covers the transference to

¹ An abstract of a paper of which part was read before the *Bibliographical Society* on 19 January 1920, and illustrated with lantern slides.

Oxford in 1874. The issues at Frome may be placed at seven publications and about 440 notices, fly-sheets, texts and the like, and at Oxford sixty of the former and about 210 of the latter. The course of the whole press can therefore be followed, in full detail.

A second point of interest will especially appeal to members of the Bibliographical Society. There are plenty of rarities. How many persons own the *Keble's Easter Day*; the *Garland of Rachel* with the separate eight-page preface; and *Our Memories*, including the fragment of a second series; and the Roman type first Daniel edition of the Poet Laureate's *Growth of Love*?

There is also good literature to be found. Idylls of Theocritus from a unique printed Elizabethan translation, 'A New Sermon of the Newest Sort' of the time of the Civil War, a play by John Webster, purged and re-formed as *Love's Graduate*, delicate pieces from Erasmus, Herrick, Milton, Blake, and Keats, and first editions of pieces by Robert Bridges, F. W. Bourdillon, Sir Herbert Warren, Margaret Woods, 'Rosina Filippi', Laurence Binyon, and others—what can one wish for, more?

Added to these are pleasant marks of distinction which transform the products of mechanical art into personal treasures. Such are the re-discovered, old-fashioned Fell type and ornaments, presented to the University Press by Dr. John Fell in the seventeenth century; the use of good hand-made paper; the printer's Mark, the *cachet* of the Press, a woodcut of Dr. Daniel, represented as in the lion's den, with the legend MISIT ANGELUM SUUM; the miniation of initials (the deft handiwork of Mrs. Daniel), and woodcuts here and there, and personal prefaces. All these complete the contentment of the reader.

The lantern slides which accompanied the dimidiated paper on 25 January illustrated the stages of the Press in some

detail. One exhibited a little booklet of the earliest stage (*References to St. Jude*), which is probably unique among the twelve million products of the world's printing presses. One can imagine a book beginning in writing and ending in print, for writing preceded printing, but what of this book which begins in print and ends, tired out, in manuscript? The *Frome Miniature Gazette*, No. 1, 15 October 1850, was also displayed, printed on one side of a small 8vo sheet. No more was printed, and perhaps it is the shortest of known periodicals. Some publications of the Frome Press were also shown, including the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia (from the Revelation), the only separate edition of the Greek text (1857). In some of these Frome pieces, Dr. Daniel's brothers joined him in press-work, and especially the Rev. W. Eustace Daniel, the present Vicar of Horsington in Somerset. Of the Oxford Press there were shown the first use of the Fell type in the *New Sermon* (1877), the *Misit Angelum* mark (1881), a specimen of *Our Memories*, recollections of Oxford by Dean Liddell, Canon Heurtley, Archdeacon Denison, and many others, whom Dr. Daniel beguiled to contribute; and about a dozen other slides.

The actual Press used by Dr. Daniel at Oxford for all his later books has been presented to the Bodleian Library by Mrs. Daniel, and it is in contemplation to print on it a Bibliography of the Daniel Press, with a Memoir of its 'only begetter', and some poems by friends. This will be the first book ever printed within the walls of the Bodleian.



DR. DANIEL'S PRINTER'S MARK

THE OUTPUT OF SPANISH BOOKS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

By HENRY THOMAS¹

THE present study takes its origin from an official query at the British Museum: 'How many Spanish books printed during the sixteenth century are there in the Museum Library, and what percentage do they form of the total output for that period?' The term 'Spanish books' was intended to include all books printed in Spain in whatever language, and all books in the Spanish language printed abroad; while in this connexion Spain must be understood to coincide with the modern kingdom.

The Spanish Peninsula was very different politically during the sixteenth century from what it is to-day, and some elementary facts concerning its condition about the time we are to consider may well be given as an introduction to our subject. They will help to illuminate, and perhaps to redeem, the statistical account that is to follow.

At the time when printing was introduced into the Spanish Peninsula, six languages were spoken and written there. Of these, Latin stands apart as the official language of the Church, the Law, and the Schools. The other five correspond, very roughly indeed, to five independent political divisions, as follows:

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| Arabic. | The Moorish kingdom of Granada. |
| Basque. | (Part of) the kingdom of Navarre and neighbourhood. |
| Portuguese. | The kingdom of Portugal. |
| Catalan. | (Part of) the kingdom of Aragon. |
| Castilian. | Castile and portions of neighbouring kingdoms. |

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 16 February 1920.

Of the above, Granada and Navarre are minor divisions. Union, for the sake of strength, was desirable, and the political problem of the fifteenth century in the Peninsula was whether and how the three great kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal would amalgamate. In 1474, the year during which printing was introduced into the Peninsula, Isabella became Queen of Castile, and the union of Castile and Aragon was foreshadowed, for in 1469 she had married Prince Ferdinand of Aragon. When in 1479 Ferdinand succeeded to the throne of Aragon, Castile and Aragon were united in the person of the Catholic Kings. In 1492 the Moorish kingdom of Granada fell before the combined forces of the two sovereigns. In 1493 the counties of Rousillon and Cerdagne, to the north of the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees, were ceded by France to Aragon,¹ and in 1512 the southern half of the kingdom of Navarre was conquered by Ferdinand. When therefore Charles, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, succeeded to the thrones of Castile and Aragon in 1516, the whole of Spain as we now know it, to the south of the Pyrenees, with an additional trifle on the north-east, came under a single rule. The various elements were united in the person of the Sovereign only—he supplied the central policy right through the century; but there were different and distinct administrations: there were, for instance, separate *Cortes* for Castile, for Aragon, for Catalonia, for Valencia, and for Navarre.

We cannot confine our consideration of Spain to the Peninsula itself. In 1492, the year of the fall of Granada, Columbus discovered the New World. Castile, with its rivers running westwards and its ports facing the Atlantic, expanded on the American continent. Aragon, with its ports on the Mediterranean, had for some time past been expanding eastwards. The Balearic Islands were definitely Aragonese from the

¹ They were not returned till 1659.

middle of the fourteenth century; Sardinia was finally acquired in 1428; and Sicily, already conquered in 1282, was incorporated with Aragon in 1409. Over against Sicily lay the kingdom of Naples, comprising the southern half of Italy. During the latter part of the fifteenth century, this had been under an Aragonese Prince, the bastard son of Alfonso V who had conquered it. After some transferences of ownership about the turn of the century, it was conquered by Ferdinand and annexed to Aragon by 1505. Spain was thus led to contend with France for dominion in Italy. In 1519 Ferdinand's grandson Charles lost his paternal grandfather the Emperor Maximilian; he thereupon succeeded to the Austrian dominions—including the Netherlands—and contended with France for the hegemony of Europe. Charles, now the Emperor Charles V, added the Duchy of Milan to his Italian possessions, investing his son Philip with it in 1540. Sixteen years later (1556) he abdicated, and the Spanish and Austrian dominions were split up. Philip II, Charles's successor in Spain, retained the Mediterranean and Italian possessions, the Franche-Comté, the Netherlands, and the territory acquired in the New World. He forcibly united Portugal to Spain in 1580; but the Northern Provinces of the Netherlands renounced their allegiance to him in 1581. Except for this, the Spanish possessions remained unchanged till about the middle of the seventeenth century—Portugal achieved its independence first in 1640.

Charles V's vast European possessions involved him in enormous undertakings outside Spain. For the greater part of his time he was absent from the Peninsula on various European campaigns. This was not without effect for one aspect of our subject. There could be no settled court, no regular royal residence, and so there was no recognized capital.

The meetings of the Castilian *Cortes* illustrate this clearly. These meetings go back to the year 862. Nearly two hundred

are recorded up to the sixteenth century, and of these only the seventy-third (1309) and twelve others were held in Madrid, the present capital. Madrid, indeed, as a place of importance, is comparatively modern; it had not established itself at the beginning of the period we are to consider. This too may be illustrated from the meetings of the Castilian *Cortes* held during the period 1500-58; the reason for the latter date will appear in a moment. Twenty-six meetings were held during the period in question, some extending to more than one place. Both the choice of cities, and the number of meetings held in each, are instructive. Ten were held at Valladolid, five at Madrid, four at Burgos, three at Toledo, while La Coruña, Salamanca, Santiago de Compostela, Segovia, Seville, and Toro figure once in the list. There was a great change from this numerous and scattered assortment in the latter part of the century, 1559-1600, which almost coincides with the reign of Philip II. During the years 1548-59 Philip had been away from Spain a great deal, Queen Mary of England claiming his attention for some portion of the time. He returned in 1559, from which year his personal government dates, and in 1560 he established Madrid as the *única corte*, the sole capital, and so it has remained ever since, except for the brief period when the court was transferred to Valladolid at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Hence it comes about that of the thirteen *Cortes* held between 1559 and 1600, eleven were held at Madrid, one at Toledo, and one at Córdoba. For rather more than the first half of the century, therefore, Valladolid was preferred for such events as would usually take place in a capital—a meeting of Parliament or an *auto de fe*; during the remaining years Madrid was the official choice.

As a parallel but minor point it may be mentioned that the *Cortes* of Navarre usually met at Pamplona, Estella, or Tudela,

the Aragonese *Cortes* at Saragossa, Monzón, or Tarazona, the Catalanian at Barcelona, Monzón, or Lérida, and the Valencian at Valencia or Monzón. Monzón, now a small town of some 4,000 inhabitants, was favoured because of its central position; it is now of little importance, and the parliament-house has become a *juego de pelota*—a fives-court.

This non-existence of an official capital for more than half of the sixteenth century must be borne in mind when considering early Spanish printing. It explains the lateness of the introduction of printing into Madrid, and the absence of any city with a preponderating output, corresponding to London for England, and Paris for France. It helps to explain the sudden spurts that are to be observed in the output of certain places. Official documents—laws and ordinances—had a habit of being printed where they were passed or sanctioned, and official documents loom large in the output of the sixteenth century in Spain, forming, for instance, thirteen to fourteen per cent. of the specimens of sixteenth-century Spanish printing now in the British Museum. The common practice of assigning those printed in the first half of the sixteenth century to a Madrid press is to be deprecated.

Besides the political character of the Peninsula, its geographical conditions must be borne in mind when dealing with Spanish printing. Its average altitude is the second highest in Europe. The central portion consists of high tablelands cut off from each other by lofty mountain-ridges, and deeply carved by large but generally unnavigable rivers. Communication by road between the different districts was, and in many cases still is, bad. We shall therefore not expect to find the art of printing spread in Spain along the rivers and the trade-routes, as it did in and from Germany. We shall rather expect to find it establishing itself in the principal cities of well-defined districts. And for geographical as well

as for political reasons, we shall not expect to find any city with a preponderating output.

The regional character of Spain has always exercised a considerable influence on the life of the country: the influence is very marked in modern Spanish fiction. It has led to intense local patriotisms, and these have been usefully employed in the field of bibliography. The Spaniards have been enthusiastic bibliographers since the days of Antonio. Besides the well-known general bibliographies which exist, from 1887 onwards a number of local bibliographies have been published, giving the productions of the printing press in different places; without these the present study would have been impossible. The list, arranged in chronological order, is as follows:

- | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1887. | Toledo | C. Pérez Pastor. |
| 1889. | Alcalá de Henares ¹ . | J. Catalina García. |
| 1891, &c. | Madrid | C. Pérez Pastor |
| 1894. | Seville | F. Escudero y Perosso. |
| 1895. | Medina del Campo | C. Pérez Pastor. |
| 1900. | Córdoba | J. M. de Valdenegro y Cisneros. |
| 1902. | León | C. Bravo Guarida. |
| 1912. | Lérída. . . . | M. Jiménez Catalán. |
| 1913-14. | Aragon (Saragossa, Huesca, Épila) | J. M. Sánchez. |
| 1916. | Tarragona | A. del Arco. |

It will be observed that there are no bibliographies for five important cities: Barcelona, Burgos, Salamanca, Valencia, and Valladolid; though Valencia is partly provided for by the dictionary of Valencian presses of J. E. Serrano y Morales (1898-9) and the *Bibilografía Valenciana* (*Catalech descriptiu de les obres impreses en llengua valenciana*) of E. Genovés y Olmos (1911). For books printed outside the Peninsula,

¹ To be supplemented by the *Impresos de Alcalá en la Biblioteca del Escorial* of B. Fernández (1916).

there is a bibliography for Sardinia by E. Toda y Güell (1890) and a general work, *Bibliographie hispanique extra-péninsulaire* by H. Vaganay in vol. xlii of the *Revue Hispanique* (1918).

With this preparation we may turn to our real subject of early Spanish book-production. A few figures may be given for the first quarter of a century, during which printing was practised in Spain, for comparison later with the sixteenth-century statistics. These figures are easily obtained, now that Dr. Haebler has published the second part of his *Bibliografía Ibérica del siglo xv* (1917), with complete summaries at the end. Dr. Haebler records printing at thirty places in Spain, as against twenty-four recorded by Proctor in his *Index to Early Printed Books in the British Museum* (1898-1903). Two of Dr. Haebler's extra places are treated by Proctor as foreign towns and classified under other countries, Perpignan, with two books, and Cagliari with one book; two towns, Jérez and Segorbe, with one book each, are doubtfully included; the other two, Montalbán and Santiago de Compostela, have two books each. The total for these extra places does not run into double figures.

Dr. Haebler records a total output of 800 books for thirty Spanish places in the fifteenth century. Of these, the British Museum has 155 (perhaps 157) for sixteen places, that is, nearly 20 per cent., a very creditable proportion. The distribution of these books among the most important places is the only other set of statistics for the fifteenth century which we need consider here. The places run mostly in pairs. Two important Castilian cities, Seville and Salamanca, produced respectively 140 and 130 books; two Aragonese cities, Barcelona and Saragossa, 97 and 94, while the Aragonese Valencia just beats the Castilian Burgos with 78 against 77. Toledo stands by itself with 39 to its credit. The Castilian Valladolid has 23, against 20 of the Aragonese Lérida. Montserrat (Aragon) has 17, Zamora (Castile) 16, and Pamplona

(Navarre) 16. Nearly all these twelve places will concern us in the sixteenth century. If to these are added Tarragona, with 8 books, and Granada with 2, the rest can be ignored.

We can now pass on to the books produced during the sixteenth century. From the bibliographies mentioned above we can obtain figures representing the output of books in a number of important places. With the aid of figures for the British Museum collection we can infer roughly the output of other places for which no bibliographies exist. It is not pretended that in either case the figures are exact. The bibliographies are more or less complete according to the ability and opportunities of the compiler, and the date at which they were compiled. The British Museum figures given below are not final. The Museum collection includes some two or three hundred unsigned books or pamphlets. Of these some eighty have not yet been assigned to any place of printing, while those already assigned will require a certain amount of redistributing as information accumulates.

The figures not being exact in either case, the inferences are only approximate; but the processes by which they are obtained can be controlled, and the defects of the methods employed will be pointed out to help to this end.

We may now consider the output of the individual cities and towns where printing was carried on during the sixteenth century in Spain. The figures given above for the fifteenth century suggest an interesting speculation as to which place can claim the highest output for the succeeding century. I may illustrate this by giving the guesses I made when I first considered the question, without any detailed information to guide me. For reasons already stated, I did not expect to find any one place with a vastly preponderating output. I ruled out the Aragonese cities, and looked to the predominant partner Castile for the most productive places; and in Castile I passed over Madrid, since I knew

that printing was only established there in 1566, six years after it became the *única corte*—it took some time for Madrid to absorb the court and its parasites and to settle down to business. I had the fifteenth-century figures—for what they were worth—showing that Seville and Salamanca were the chief producers of books down to 1500. I knew that Seville acquired enormous wealth from its association with the New World, and I had met the Seville imprint very frequently in the important popular literary works of our period. I knew that Ferdinand and Isabella revived the ancient University of Salamanca, and restored it to something approaching its former high position in the world of learning. And I knew that Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros founded a great University at Alcalá de Henares, which understood its duty to foster learning through the printing press better than most of our modern English Universities. But the University of Alcalá de Henares was not founded till 1508, and its influence was only felt in printing from the beginning of the next decade onwards. These considerations led me to think that the three cities just named would make all the running, and that they would finish in the following order : 1, Seville ; 2, Salamanca ; 3, Alcalá de Henares. I was quite wrong. Let me prove it by giving the facts, based on the bibliographies and the British Museum figures. The bibliographies cover five important Castilian cities. These cities, with the date of publication of the bibliography, the total books produced, according to the bibliography, the number of books in the British Museum, and the percentage these form of the given total, are entered in the following table :

		<i>Total.</i>	<i>B.M.</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
Madrid (1891)	. .	777	240	30+
Alcalá (1889)	. .	758	233	30+
Seville (1894).	. .	750	253	33+
Toledo (1887)	. .	419	127	30+
Medina (1895)	. .	248	76	30+

Before proceeding to make use of the above table, I should call attention to a slight defect. The percentage given in the fourth column represents the ratio of the British Museum figures to those of the bibliographies. But some of the books in the British Museum collection are not mentioned in the bibliographies. These should go to increase the numbers in the second column. But in no case will they be sufficient, I believe, to reduce the percentage by a single point, and so, after this brief mention, they may be neglected.

It will be observed that all the bibliographies concerned above are not less than a quarter of a century old. The Seville bibliography is probably the least satisfactory, the least complete; hence, to some extent, the high Museum percentage in this case. The Museum figures support the order of my forecast as between Seville and Alcalá. I was surprised to find Madrid take the first place, in view of its late start; but I am inclined to think that if the Madrid and the Seville bibliographies were brought up to date, the relative positions of the two cities would be reversed, and Seville would rank as the chief producing centre of the sixteenth, as well as of the fifteenth century. It is probable that more books would accrue to Seville during the obscurer first half of the century than would accrue to Madrid during the better known second half.

Admitting that the figures for Seville are abnormal, the British Museum has a rough average of 30 per cent. of the recorded output for the three first rank and the two second rank cities mentioned above. In view of the constancy of this proportion, we may assume that it holds good for the three other important Castilian cities, one of the first rank and two of the second rank, for which no bibliographies exist. We can therefore construct the following table with the aid of the Museum figures :

	<i>Estimated Total.</i>	<i>B.M.</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
Salamanca . . .	[753]	226	30
Valladolid . . .	[366]	110	30
Burgos . . .	[273]	82	30

The figures in the second column perhaps flatter these three cities, for in their case the percentage is reckoned as exactly 30, whereas in the case of the five cities previously mentioned the percentage was nearly a point higher than the figure actually given. On a full 31 per cent. basis the figures for Salamanca would be reduced to 730. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the British Museum figures, on which these estimates are based, are probably less favourable to Salamanca than to Seville, Madrid, or Alcalá. Salamanca was a great theological University; much religious literature was printed in the city, and religious literature has not been greatly sought after in the past, except by those specially interested. The figures given later for the chief Aragonese city, which has quite a modern bibliography, show that if up-to-date figures were available for Madrid, Alcalá, Seville, and Salamanca, these cities would be credited with a much larger output; the race for primacy would be a close one, and in the finish the order here allotted to them might be changed.

In the case of the less important Castilian cities, the Museum is hardly likely to have so high a percentage of books, for the minor presses tend to produce books of local interest, or books which do not find their way so easily into the main stream of commerce. We may assume that the percentage held by the Museum decreases as the importance of the city diminishes. With the Museum figures for three cities of the third rank as printing centres, I make the following estimate:

	<i>Estimated Total.</i>	<i>B.M.</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
Granada . . .	[120]	30	25
Logroño . . .	[75]	15	20
Pamplona . . .	[55]	11	20

These percentages and totals are supported by the figures for a fourth city, which has a fairly recent bibliography :

	<i>Total.</i>	<i>B.M.</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
Córdoba (1900) . . .	51	10	20

All the other Castilian cities and towns in which printing was carried on during the sixteenth century—some forty in number—fail to reach double figures in the Museum collection. Here the Museum may be assumed to possess not more than 10 per cent. of the total output¹; it has fifty books in all, and so we may make the following conjecture for the whole group :

	<i>Estimated Total.</i>	<i>B.M.</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
Other places . . .	[500]	50	10

This gives a grand total for Castile of over 5,000 books, of which the British Museum possesses between 1,400 and 1,500, giving an excellent average of 28 per cent. As has been explained, however, the percentage would be slightly reduced by adding to the grand total the number of books in the British Museum which are not recorded in the bibliographies. It would be appreciably reduced if the number of books which modern research has revealed, or could easily reveal, were also added; for the Museum figures can only be increased by the tardy processes of purchase and presentation.

The Aragonese books have purposely been left for separate consideration. The reason is that the existing bibliographies relating to Aragon are quite modern, and much more complete than those relating to Castile; and partly—but only partly—on this account the British Museum does not maintain the same average for Aragonese books as for Castilian. The whole of the figures for Aragon are on a different plane from those for Castile.

Three bibliographies mentioned above give the sixteenth-

¹ It has none of the eight books which, according to a bibliography of 1902, were printed in León during the sixteenth century.

century output for five Aragonese cities widely differing in importance :

	<i>Total.</i>	<i>B.M.</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
Saragossa (1913-14) . . .	870	107	12+
Tarragona (1916) . . .	40	8	20
Lérida (1912) . . .	28	4	14+
Huesca (1914) . . .	32	1	3+
Épila (1914) . . .	3	1	33+

The total for Saragossa exceeds by nearly a hundred the total for the premier Castilian city : this is explained by the dates at which the respective bibliographies were compiled. The Museum percentages for these five cities are very erratic. Those for Huesca and Épila may be ignored, for the purpose of deduction, as being freakish. The percentage for Tarragona has suddenly jumped from 15 to 20 through the recent acquisition of two books printed there. The lower average for Aragonese books, as compared with Castilian, is due to several causes : the newness of the Aragonese bibliographies ; the fact that, with but one or two exceptions, all the Museum books printed in the above five cities are included in the bibliographies ; and—the most influential cause of all—the fact that Aragonese books, being often of local interest or in the Catalan language, have not had the same interest for English collectors as the Castilian books.

The erratic nature of the Museum percentages in the case of the Aragonese cities for which there is a bibliography, makes it difficult to estimate the output of the two remaining cities, Barcelona and Valencia, for which there is no bibliography of the kind required. It would be a little rash to assume that the Museum possesses so small a proportion of the Valencian books as 12 per cent., for its holding of 120 books would then imply a total output of 1,000 for this city. Yet this total may be approximately correct, for Valencia produced, according to the bibliography mentioned above, 132 books in Catalan alone, and it was a wealthy city in the

sixteenth century. On the other hand, it was also an important literary centre; consequently, its books are usually of more general appeal than those produced in Saragossa, and it seems likely that the Museum would acquire a higher proportion of the former than of the latter. But it would be equally rash to assume that the Museum possesses a higher proportion than 14 per cent. of the Valencian books, in view of the above table, and I have taken this figure as a reasonable estimate for Valencia and Barcelona. This gives us the following table:

		<i>Estimated Total.</i>	<i>B.M.</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
Valencia	. . .	[857]	120	14
Barcelona	. . .	[693]	97	14

The resulting order of the three principal cities in the kingdom is confirmed by the fact that 37 presses are recorded as having been at work in Saragossa during the sixteenth century, against 36 in Valencia and 31 in Barcelona.

The above tables give an estimated total of a trifle over 2,500 Aragonese books, of which the British Museum possesses 338, or a little more than 13 per cent.—less than half its proportion of Castilian books. The combined total of Castilian and Aragonese books amounts, according to the present estimates, to over 7,500; but as all the important Castilian bibliographies were compiled a quarter of a century or more ago, it is probable that 10,000 more nearly represents the actual output of books printed in Spain itself during the sixteenth century. One small test may be applied to these figures. Just before the war there was published a list, by the late Konrad Burger, of the books printed in Spain and Portugal during the period 1501–36.¹ Burger's list is far from complete, but I calculate roughly that he has recorded about 1,700 books for Spain alone; that is, for a little more

¹ *Die Drucker und Verleger in Spanien und Portugal von 1501–1536.* Leipzig 1913.

than the first third of the century, rather less than a quarter of my estimated total for the whole century, before my addition for the books that are lost or unrecorded by the bibliographers. The proportion is about what one would expect.

My estimate does not yet account for all the Spanish books printed in the Peninsula during the sixteenth century. As was mentioned above, from 1580-1640 Portugal formed part of Spain. Both before, during, and after this period Spanish books were printed in various Portuguese cities; and as, in the sixteenth century, these books were usually of some importance from the literary or historical point of view, we may assume that a very fair proportion found their way into the British Museum. Three cities only are concerned, and I reckon the Museum percentage at 25 for the chief city, and at 20 for the other two. If these figures are too optimistic, the estimated totals will have to be increased in the following table :

	<i>Estimated Total.</i>	<i>B.M.</i>	<i>Percentage.</i>
Lisbon	[128]	32	25
Coimbra	[45]	9	20
Evora	[20]	4	20

This gives a rough estimated total of 200 Spanish books printed in Portugal during the sixteenth century.

Along with the productions of the Peninsula itself may be classed the few books produced, in Castilian or in the local vernacular, in the outlying islands—the Balearic Islands and Sardinia—during the century. For Sardinia, Sr. Toda records some 30 such books, of which the British Museum has but one. The Museum has two such books printed in Majorca. Assuming something like the same proportion to hold good here, we may add roughly a hundred books for the outlying islands. Estimates are hazardous where such small figures are concerned, but 300 books for Portugal and the islands—however they are to be distributed—should suffice as an addition for what I may call the home district.

But there are other and more considerable additions to be made before we can obtain an estimate of the full total of Spanish books printed during the sixteenth century. For these additions my introductory historical remarks will have prepared the reader. If the question arises, 'What country had the most books printed abroad in its language or languages during the sixteenth century?' the answer is not far to seek. Spain was the great imperialistic power in the sixteenth century, and the Spanish books printed abroad during that century far outnumber those printed in any other language in a foreign country. I propose to pass over, with a mere mention, the Spanish books printed in the New World. Books printed abroad derive their chief interest, typographically speaking, from the fact that they are produced in a country where the main printed literature is in the native vernacular, when not in Latin; and in the Spanish colonies in America the language of the aborigines did not count for the purposes of the printing press. It would also be unfair to separate the Spanish books from the Latin books printed in these colonies. The whole subject of early printing in America should be dealt with by itself. It has been well studied, and the results are readily available. I can pass on to consider the Spanish books printed outside the Peninsula in European countries having a flourishing press of their own.

Most of the western countries of Europe are involved, three of them to a considerable extent. There is little published information which will enable us to form an estimate of the number of Spanish books printed in these countries. As was mentioned above, H. Vaganay produced in 1918 a bibliography of works by Spaniards printed abroad in any language—more are in Latin than in Spanish; but since in the case of the Spanish books his figures are generally exceeded by the British Museum figures, I can as a rule confine my attention to the latter.

The Spanish connexion with Italy, briefly indicated above, accounts for the fact that Spanish books were printed in various Italian cities, some within and some without the Spanish dominions, for the benefit of resident Spaniards and of natives anxious to read or learn the language.

The following table shows the numbers possessed by the Museum for the different cities, together with the numbers recorded by Vaganay. It must not be assumed that the higher total for any of these cities represents the known output, for the Museum possesses books not recorded by Vaganay, who in his turn records books which are not in the Museum. Further, the table ignores one or two cases of fictitious imprints.

	<i>B.M.</i>	<i>Vaganay.</i>		<i>B.M.</i>	<i>Vaganay.</i>
Venice . . .	40	36	Turin . . .	3	—
Rome . . .	20	8	Florence . . .	2	—
Milan . . .	9	6	Bergamo . . .	1	—
Ferrara . . .	4	2	Bologna . . .	—	1
Naples . . .	3	2	Mantua . . .	—	1

The Museum therefore has 82 Spanish books printed in Italy—as against 56 recorded by Vaganay. Early Italian books are well represented in the British Museum, for reasons well understood by those acquainted with the history of the institution during the nineteenth century. It is reasonable to suppose that Spanish books printed in Italy are also well represented. They are usually books of some literary or historical value, and are therefore all the more likely to have come to the notice of collectors, especially the collectors interested in Italy and the Museum during the last century. We may assume that the Museum has at least as high a proportion of these books as it has of Castilian books—say rather over 30 per cent. This would mean an estimated total of some 250 Spanish books printed in Italy.

The most important contribution to the foreign section of our subject comes from the Netherlands. Spanish books

began to be printed in the Netherlands not long after Charles V inherited this portion of the Austrian dominions. The sixteenth-century output is spread over five cities, but nearly all the books were printed in Antwerp, which, as a producer of Spanish books in this century, ranks with the Castilian cities of the second class. If we assume that the same proportion between the British Museum figures and the total output holds good for Antwerp as for the Castilian cities, then Antwerp ranks an easy first among these cities of the second class. The following table, giving the Museum totals and the numbers recorded by Vaganay, suggest however that the proportion is likely to be higher in the present case.

	<i>B.M.</i>	<i>Vaganay.</i>
Antwerp	167	105
Brussels	13	5
Louvain	5	—
Leyden	3	—
Liège	2	—

This gives a total of 190 Spanish books printed in the Low Countries during the sixteenth century now in the British Museum, as against 110 recorded by Vaganay. A considerable amount of evidence could be adduced to show that the Netherlands were the chief source of supply of Spanish books for the English market at this time. This is only natural in view of the proximity of the two countries, the ease with which books could be transported by water from Antwerp to London, and the common cause which England and the Netherlands made against Spain late in the century. I incline to think therefore that a considerable proportion of the Spanish books printed in the Netherlands reached England, and that of these again a high percentage is represented in the British Museum. It will certainly not lead to any exaggeration of the total output if we assume that the Museum possesses nearer 40 per cent. than 30 per cent. of the Spanish books printed in Antwerp, and we may estimate the total for

Antwerp alone at about 450 books, and for the whole of the Netherlands at about 500 books.

The only other European country which produced Spanish books in any quantity during the sixteenth century was France. Only four cities are involved—Lyons, Paris, Perpignan, and Toulouse—and the reasons why they figure in the list are not far to seek. Paris established a Spanish connexion through its famous *Horæ* in the early part of the century. Lyonese printers, wood-cutters, and artists, and their wares, readily found their way to Spain down the Rhone. Toulouse was no great distance beyond the frontier, and Perpignan, as already stated, was at this time within the Spanish border. The British Museum figures for these cities, with the corresponding figures from Vaganay, are as follows :

		<i>B.M.</i>	<i>Vaganay.</i>
Lyons	. . . .	24	22
Paris	. . . .	9	18
Perpignan	. . . .	3	—
Toulouse	. . . .	3	—

That is, a total of 39 books for the British Museum, as against Vaganay's 40. We may assume that these figures represent a high percentage of the total number of Spanish books printed in France, and we may estimate this total at roughly 100 books.

The remaining European countries may be dismissed briefly. The British Museum possesses ten books, wholly or partly in the Spanish language, published in England during the sixteenth century. All of them were printed in London except one, which has a Paris imprint, but which was produced at the newly-revived Oxford press in 1586. The Museum also possesses six Spanish books in which a German city figures in the imprint : Augsburg three times, Frankfurt twice, and Cologne once. Vaganay mentions one printed at Strasburg, which makes a total of seven for Germany. The Museum has two Spanish books printed at Basle, and two or three religious books with a Venetian imprint which are attributed

to Geneva. Vaganay mentions a book printed at Prague, and the Museum has one printed at Salonica. We may roughly estimate the total for these minor countries at 50, and the full total of sixteenth-century Spanish books printed outside the Peninsula—ignoring the New World—at 900, or about 9 per cent. of those estimated to have been produced in the home district.

This completes the answer to the query originally put to me, and I may celebrate the termination of these unwonted arithmetical exercises by saying a few words about the physical side of the books themselves.

Printing was introduced into Spain from Italy, and the earliest books printed in the Peninsula were in Roman type. One would have expected the Roman type to have held its own; but it yielded before the Gothic type that the Spaniards welcomed from the German printers who brought the new art and spread it in their country. The typical Spanish book at the beginning of the sixteenth century is a small folio or quarto, printed in heavy regular Gothic type, with correspondingly heavy ornamental initials of uniform character, and heavy woodcuts to match: a favourite form of decoration throughout the century was the national coat of arms.

If we once accept the native convention, the Spanish master-printers and their men of, roughly speaking, the first quarter of the sixteenth century produced books equal to the best turned out elsewhere. After the first quarter of the century the quality of the books begins to deteriorate, more quickly in some places than in others; the decline is noticeably rapid in Barcelona and Valencia. It is easy to understand this deterioration. The standard was well maintained where the firm of one of the old masters, especially where the master himself, was long-lived; for instance, the firm of G. Coci in Saragossa, the Cromberger firm in Seville, the Junta firm in Burgos and Salamanca, A. Guillen de Brocar in Alcalá and

elsewhere. But increased output and increased competition started printing early on its downward career, in Spain as in other countries. In Spain the decadence was general after 1530. Once a 'rot', the result of a decline in taste, affects an art or craft, that art or craft goes steadily down until it finds a certain economic level, from which competition again can but slowly raise it through individual efforts to restore taste.

Several causes combined to bring about the deterioration in the art of printing in Spain. Chief among them, of course, was the impoverishment of the country through the Sovereign's ambitious foreign policy. But the decline set in long before this could have any very appreciable effect, as a result of more intrinsic and consequently more general causes. Increased output followed an increased demand for books. The sources of paper-supply tended to become exhausted, and inferior paper had perforce to be used. Increased production also involved the absorption into the craft of greater numbers of workmen, who had neither the training, nor the tradition, nor the opportunity of acquiring the purer taste of their predecessors. With the extension of a printer's business, his stock of types increased and became very diversified. More especially his ornamental initials and woodcuts accumulated, till he found himself in possession of a large and motley assortment—both as to size and treatment—upon which he drew without discrimination. As a result, the old uniformity—the suitable blending of type, initials, and decorations—disappeared; and this process was accentuated as Italian influences reappeared towards the middle of the century. An ill-assorted assembly of types, initials, and perhaps also woodcuts, becomes characteristic of books of any length, and this could not help but diminish the taste of all connected with the craft. The workman found less and less inducement to turn out artistic work, owing to the nature of his materials,

and he allowed his press-work to deteriorate. Spanish press-work of the declining period, which begins well before the impoverishment of the country, is at least as bad as that of any other country, including our own.

Besides this deterioration in book-production, which was general throughout Europe, there are stages of evolution of more local interest to which attention may now be directed. As was mentioned above, Spanish books at the beginning of the sixteenth century were in folio or quarto, and for the most part in Gothic letter. Smaller books—octavo and lesser sizes—first appear at the beginning of the third decade, as far as my observation goes. These smaller sizes are not very numerous till towards the middle of the century, for they were based on Italian, French, and Netherlands models, and Italian influences only became prominent in Spanish book-production after they had produced a decisive effect in Spanish literature, that is, early in the fourth decade. It was towards the middle of the century too that Spanish books began to be produced in considerable quantities at Antwerp, mostly in very handy sizes, and these editions were soon copied in Spain.

The influence of the Italian and Netherlands books helped to bring about another change. Spanish books printed in Italy during the sixteenth century were either in Gothic letter, after the Spanish model, or else in Roman or Italic type, like the native books; those printed in the Netherlands were in Roman or Italic type only. For two-thirds of the century Gothic type was the standard type for popular books, and indeed for most books, in Spain itself—the words *Letra gótica* or *Letra de Tortis* occur with wearisome regularity in Spanish bibliographies for this period. In the University cities, especially Alcalá and Salamanca, other types were used: Roman type was more common, because a number of the books printed there were intended for students and scholars, and were in the traditional type for scholarly books;

Italic type was also fairly frequently used, not often by itself, but usually as a commentary type where a work consisted of text and gloss. Italic type—*letra bastardilla*—never obtained a popular hold on Spain. The native taste in types can perhaps best be illustrated by brief data relating to Seville, for Seville was the chief centre for the production of popular literature, at least till Madrid became the capital. Italic type is rarely met with in Seville books. Ignoring an Italian book with a Seville imprint, dated 1540, which I imagine was printed in Italy, the first example of a complete book in Italic type printed in Seville is dated 1544. Throughout the century Seville books printed in Italics do not seem to reach double figures. Roman type is, of course, more important. Before 1550 I only know of some half-dozen books printed in Roman type—or in mixed Roman and Gothic—in Seville, and these are mostly reprints of scholarly books first produced elsewhere. Another half-dozen books in Roman type appeared between 1550 and 1556, after which there is a pause for a time. In 1567 the flow begins again, and from 1570 onwards most Seville books were printed in Roman type: Gothic type was only used when some favourite popular book was reprinted in imitation of existing models. The date 1567 is significant. This is the year after a printing-press, using Roman types, was established in Madrid. Now that it was the capital, Madrid at once set the fashion for other cities, at the same time filching from them much of their book-trade.

The last remark is a reminder that many small points of interest arise in the study of book-production in the mass over a whole century, even though that study is confined to the typographical side, and does not concern itself with literary contents, which of course would bring us into contact with most phases of the life of the time. In addition to noting the changes already mentioned—those of size and type—we may observe with regret the passing of famous masters

of the craft, and the dissolution of old-established firms. On the other hand, we may see new presses replacing those that have disappeared, or introducing the art of printing into new centres. Alcalá and Madrid are especially interesting in this respect, for we can watch them stealing the trade that formerly went to other cities. We may wonder why presses started at all in some places of little importance, and why they started so late in other places now of considerable importance, such as Córdoba (1566), Bilbao (1578), Cádiz (1595), and Málaga (1599). We may attempt to explain to ourselves the sudden increase of output which certain places achieve in certain years : we may note the effect of a meeting of the *Cortes*, of a local lawsuit, or of a national controversy like that raised by Bartolomé de las Casas concerning the cruelties to the Indians, which kept the Seville presses busy in 1552 ; or we may trace the influence of a prominent cleric or scholar, like Cardinal Jiménez and Antonio de Nebrija at Alcalá early in the century, or Archbishop Antonio Agustín at Tarragona late in the century. We may attempt to account for the sudden decrease or cessation of output in certain places, usually as the result of plague or civil war. A good instance of the latter is Medina del Campo. During the rising of the *Comuneros* (1520), the better part of the city was burned to the ground. The recently published *Historia de Carlos Quinto*, by Pedro Mexía, gives some details of the occurrence.¹ Cloth and gold and silver of enormous value, we are told, were lost in the fire—and a few women and children too. A number of notable citizens were killed by the local labour-leader, among them a bookseller whose name is unfortunately not mentioned. It is natural to find a gap and much uncertainty in the book-trade at Medina del Campo about this time. Printers fought shy of the place, which became a mart rather than a producing centre : it is

¹ *Revue Hispanique*, 1918, tom. xlv, p. 152.

remarkable for its booksellers who had books printed in any city but their own, contrary to the usual practice.

But to develop such points is beyond the scope of this inquiry; the reader who, under the influence of its title, has steeled himself to endure dull statistics, may well complain that he should not now be compelled to consider interesting sidelights. With this healthy reminder of its nature and purpose, the present paper may conveniently be brought to a close.

In the discussion which followed Dr. Thomas's paper Mr. Lyell expressed his indebtedness to Dr. Thomas for the light he had shed on what was without doubt an obscure branch of bibliography, as far as this country was concerned. He thought two practical considerations emerged from the paper: (a) The extent of the present available information regarding early Spanish books; (b) How that information could usefully be extended. As far as the information in this country was concerned, the bibliographical material in our own language was negligible, and if we looked abroad, the position was not very much better, as with the exception of bibliographies dealing with certain towns, the general Spanish bibliographies, such as Salvá and Gallardo, were out of date. He urged the importance of preparing a comprehensive work for early Spanish books on the lines of Proctor's Index for Germany 1501-20, but for the whole of the sixteenth century, and suggested it might usefully contain an introduction on the lines of Fumagalli's *Lexicon Typographicum Italiae*. After discussing the excellence of the early Spanish types and press-work, and the remarkable beauty of the decoration employed, giving illustrations from books produced in the first quarter of the century, Mr. Lyell concluded by asking Dr. Thomas to mention any notable English collectors of Spanish books.

Mr. Gaselee said that, in reply to Mr. Lyell, he could give

the name of at least one English collector who had brought together a good number of Spanish books; this was Samuel Pepys, who four or five times in his Diary tells how he visited second-hand booksellers, in Duck Lane and elsewhere, to look over their stocks of Spanish books with a view to purchase. The majority however, of those acquired by him were of the seventeenth and not of the sixteenth century. He specialized very largely in Ballads, Romances, and little plays, sacred and profane, of about the years 1660-95.

The Spanish sixteenth-century books in the Pepysian Library are perhaps only half a dozen in number, three of them printed in Spain, one in Venice, and two in the Low Countries. If so small a number of such books reached the library of a careful collector like Pepys, it would appear probable that those in English libraries generally, are a very small proportion of the whole output, and the figures given by Dr. Thomas would not err on the generous side.

A similar conclusion might be drawn from estimates based on the excellent *Bibliography of Spanish Sixteenth-Century Books* by Dr. Burger. From a single sale catalogue, that of the Fairfax Murray Sale, he had been able to add no less than five or six books,¹ not recorded by Dr. Burger. In this case also, therefore it seems that the existing lists can be multiplied a good deal to arrive at the true output.

Finally, he suggested that as an explanation of the excellence of the type and press-work of the Spanish books of the early years of the sixteenth century that printing entered Spain late, and owing to the difficulties of communication spread slowly from town to town, so that as late as 1520 or 1530 we are still in the region of what would elsewhere be technically termed 'Early printed books'.

¹ One of these is of importance as putting back the date of the beginning of Brocar's Press at Logrono by five months to 18 November 1502.

COLARD MANSION

By SEYMOUR DE RICCI¹

COLARD MANSION, the first printer of Bruges, as the subject of an *Illustrated Monograph*, is peculiarly tempting to the bibliographer. The inducements are manifold. The life of Colard Mansion has only once been written, in 1829, by Van Praet, whose book is now both obsolete and scarce. Much has been discovered since about the man himself, the printer, and the artist. On the other hand, not too much is known for the subject to be exhaustively treated in a volume of a reasonable size.

First of all, there are new elements in Mansion's biography, such as documents relating to his flight from Bruges in 1484. Better still, the City Librarian at Amiens thinks he can establish that Mansion came to France. If so, what did he do there?

Secondly, if we study Mansion as a writer of manuscripts, the lost *Pénitence d'Adam*, until recently only known by an eighteenth-century bookseller's catalogue, has been rediscovered in the Bute collection.

Thirdly, we have now good miniatures from Mansion's workshop in a printed *Boetius* at Cambridge, and in a printed *Boccaccio* at Los Angeles.

Fourthly, three or four impressions of Mansion have turned up since the days of Van Praet, the most important being the *Estrif de Fortune*, of which copies are at Glasgow in the *Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève* and in the James de Rothschild collection.

Impressions already known have been more closely examined and new copies found. Variations between the few known copies have been noticed. Untraced copies have been located. In all some twenty-five impressions are now known, in some

¹ Abstract of a paper read before the Bibliographical Society on 22 March.

eighty extant copies, over twenty of which are in the Bibliothèque nationale.

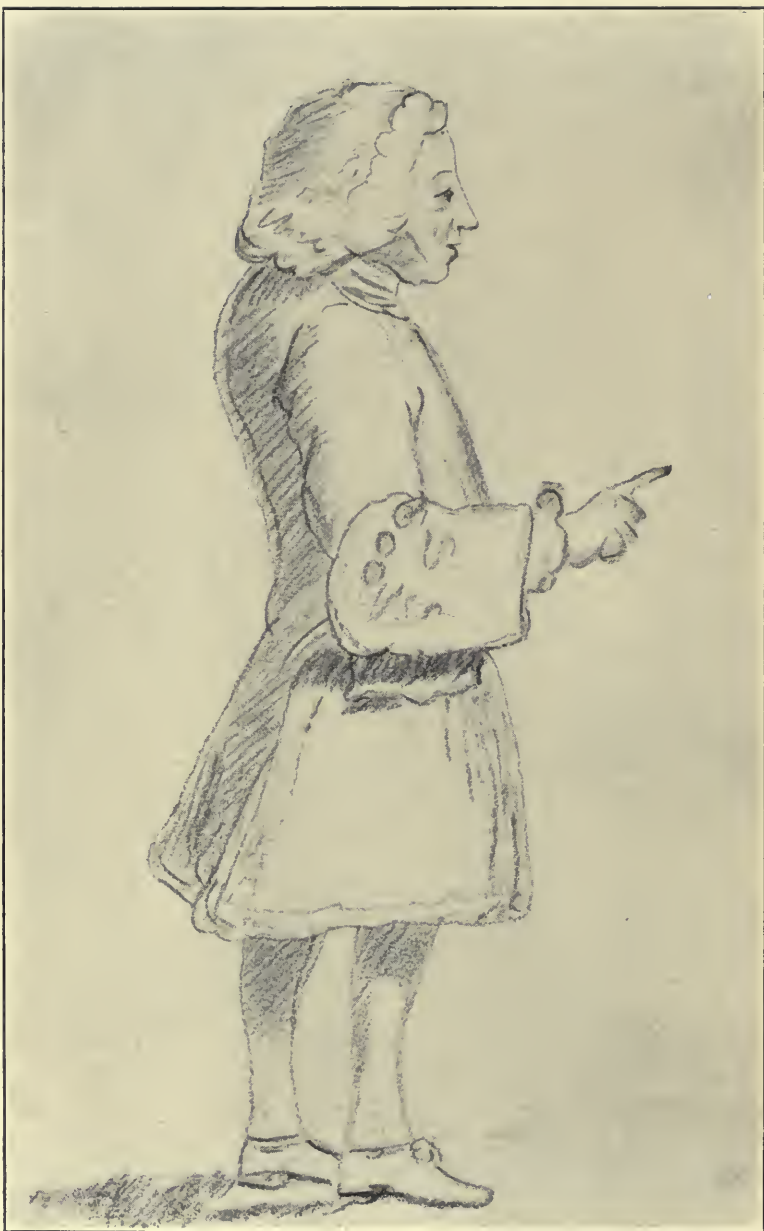
Fifthly, Van Praet knew nothing of Colard Mansion as a publisher of illustrated books: his *Boccaccio* of 1476, with its nine engravings on copper, was only discovered about 1876 by David Laing in the Marquess of Lothian's library. This copy is not unique as most bibliographers believe: similar illustrated copies exist at Göttingen and at Amiens; stray proofs of the prints exist in various collections.

Sixthly, the whole problem of Caxton's relations with Colard Mansion requires to be restated, with a careful sifting of the evidence. Was he Caxton's teacher, as Blades used to think, or was he Caxton's pupil? Did he or did Caxton print the French *Recueil* in Caxton's type 1 and the *Quatre dernières choses* in Caxton's type 2? Who printed the *Proesses de Jason* and the *Méditations* on the seven penitential Psalms, both in Caxton's type 1? Is the unique frontispiece to the Devonshire-Huntington copy of the *Recuyell* from Mansion's workshop, or is it a later insertion?

Seventhly, what did Colard Mansion do after he left Bruges? What were his connexions with Abbeville? Did he have anything to do with the printing in that city, in 1486-7, of three handsome books, one of which was a reprint of his *Somme le Rural*?

Lastly, what became of his type and blocks? Through what channels did at least one of the latter come into the hands of Antoine Verard as recently ascertained by Mr. Edouard Rahir?

It would be quite unreasonable to expect final answers on all of the above questions. But it seems quite feasible and highly desirable to condense in a volume all the available evidence on these problems, with adequate reproductions of the types, the illustrations and the miniatures. If I am not much mistaken, a volume of that character would correspond in many ways to the requirements of an Illustrated Monograph of the Bibliographical Society.



ALEXANDER POPE

By W. HOARE

A PORTRAIT OF ALEXANDER POPE

BY RAYMOND CRAWFURD, M.D. OXON., F.R.C.P.

THERE has recently come into my possession, along with other relics of Alexander Pope, a portrait of the poet in red chalk, which is here reproduced. On the lower margin of the drawing is the following inscription: 'This is the only portrait that was ever drawn of Mr. Pope at full length and was done without his knowledge, as he was deeply engaged in conversation with Mr. Allen, in the Gallery of Prior Park, by Mr. Hoare, who sat at the other end of the Gallery.' This portrait has been in the possession of my family certainly for more than a hundred years, and as some of them were on friendly terms with Pope, I assumed its authenticity. In an unguarded moment I showed the drawing to Sir John MacAlister, and by some hypnotic process he extracted from me a promise to reproduce it with a description in his pet publication, *The Library*. This has necessitated a certain amount of casual investigation, which has been instructive to myself, and may be so to some others.

My first discovery was that this identical drawing formed the frontispiece to Warton's edition of Pope's Works (1797), and there it is described as a facsimile of a drawing by William Hoare, engraved by P. Condé. It carries the same inscription as mine, but with the following addition, 'Pope would never have forgiven the Painter had he known it—He was too sensible of the Deformities of his Person to allow the whole of it to be represented—This Drawing is therefore exceedingly valuable, as it is a Unique of this celebrated Poet'. Between my drawing and the engraving in Warton's book there is a minute, but suspicious, difference, in that the

uplifted right hand in the latter has the appearance of having a thumb and five fingers. We have so much information of Pope's personal peculiarities, that we may be sure no such deformity existed, and doubt arises as to whether the engraving was made from my portrait. If it was not, then my drawing is probably a copy of the original, and it would be interesting to know if that original still exists, and, if so, where.

The portrait is from the hand of William Hoare, R.A., who also was a friend of my family: his life extended from 1707 to 1792, and he is often spoken of as Hoare of Bath, because there it was chiefly that he lived and produced most of his work. He painted many of the distinguished people, who went to Bath for the cure, and Pope, when he was a guest of Ralph Allen, the 'Man of Bath', at Prior Park. Beside this chalk drawing there is a half-length painting of Pope by William Hoare in the National Portrait Gallery.

We can fix the date of the drawing with some precision, for Allen did not commence the building of Prior Park till 1736, and it was not completed till 1742, and Pope died on May 30, 1744. The house can hardly have been sufficiently advanced for Allen to entertain a company of guests till 1738, if then. Pope is known to have been at Prior Park in the late autumn of 1742, and again in 1743, when the famous Allen-Blount-Pope quarrel occurred. Most likely the drawing was made in either 1742 or 1743, and probability is on the side of the former year.

The statement that Pope 'was too sensible of the Deformities of his Person to allow the whole of it to be represented' requires some qualification, for there are in existence more than one portrait of the full figure seated: clearly it is meant to apply only to full-length portraits of the standing figure. Peter Cunningham, in his edition of Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* (1854), gives a list of the numerous known portraits of Pope, and mentions one at full length in the possession of

Lord Lansdowne at Bowood. He is mistaken, for this portrait, now at Lansdowne House, represents Pope as sitting, with the right elbow resting on a table, and the head leaning on the right hand, and it is but three-quarter length.

Since such a large number of portraits are in existence (for Cunningham mentions nineteen and that probably does not exhaust the list), and no standing full-length portrait, taken with Pope's consent, is forthcoming, we may give credence to the tradition that Pope's sensitiveness as to his physical defects caused him persistently to decline the pose.

A good deal of information as to Pope's physical characteristics is available from various sources. For better or for worse, he was, according to Joshua Reynolds, but 4 feet 6 inches high : when seated at the dinner table, he required, like a child, a specially raised seat to enable him to compete on equal terms with his neighbours. The shortness was of the trunk, for he is said to have had long arms and legs, which made him resemble a spider, and, when his arms were in active movement, a miniature windmill. The shortness was clearly the outcome of disease, for Reynolds says that he was very hunch-backed and deformed : presumably the hunch-back was due to angular curvature from tubercular disease of the spine, for his father was similarly afflicted ; but there would seem to have been some rotation of the vertebrae as well, for we are told that one side of his chest was contracted. The spinal trouble was in full evidence at the age of 17, and is said to have started when he was twelve years old.

John Dennis, pursuing the amenities of the age, called him a pigmy animal and a hunch-backed toad, and Pope in a Letter to a Noble Lord says ' It is true, my lord, I am short, not ' well-shaped, sometimes dirty ' : while Warton describes him as protuberant behind and before.

Johnson, in his *Life of Pope*, gives a summary of a communication to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in its issue of

September 1775 : he says 'Most of what can be told concerning his petty peculiarities was communicated by a female domestick of the Earl of Oxford, who knew him perhaps after the middle of life. He was then so weak as to stand in perpetual need of female attendance : extremely sensible of cold so that he wore a fur doublet under a shirt of very coarse warm linen with sleeves. When he rose he was invested in a boddice made of stiff canvass, being scarce able to hold himself erect till they were laced, and he then put on a flannel waistcoat. One side was contracted. His legs were so slender that he enlarged their bulk with three pairs of stockings, which were drawn on and off by the maid : for he was not able to undress himself, and neither went to bed nor rose without help. His weakness made it very difficult for him to be clean'. Hawkins, in his 1787 edition of Johnson's Works, describes this bodice as 'stays', on the assurance of a Twickenham waterman, who had often felt them when lifting Pope into a boat. This buckram bodice was, of course, the precursor of the modern poroplastic jacket, worn by subjects of spinal caries.

Reynolds, in his description of Pope from a chance meeting of a few minutes when a boy, records an observation which I have failed so far to substantiate. He says 'his mouth had those peculiar marks which are always found in the mouths of crooked persons, and the muscles were so strongly marked as to appear like small cords'. Several of the portraits show these muscular bands running downwards and forwards from mid-cheek to the lower jaw, which is unusually long, as is not uncommon in the tilted heads of hunch-backs ; but I can find no traces of the circumoral lines, nor does my own experience nor that of artists and medical men assure me of their occurrence in hunch-backs. Mr. H. A. T. Fairbank, in a wide orthopaedic experience, has seen nothing of them, but has suggested to me that Reynolds may have had in mind the

linear markings of congenital syphilis. His suggestion inevitably recalled two lines of the *Essay on Man*,

‘As that the virtuous son is ill at ease,
When his lewd father gave the dire disease.’

Curiously these lines occur immediately after he has made allusion to his own other parent. But we need not pursue the question, as there is no corroborative evidence, and syphilis of the spine is so rare as to rule out the supposition that the spinal disease of father and son was of that nature. Linear markings about the mouth are seen as indications of prolonged sickness and suffering, such as must have attended spinal caries before the introduction of the most modern methods, and we may reasonably assume that such was their origin in the case of Pope.

Roubiliac, who made a bust of Pope, said that he would have known from the furrows above the eyebrows that Pope was a man who had suffered much from headaches: such was the case, and he is said to have inherited the tendency, which declared itself in boyhood, from his mother: inhalation of the steam of boiling coffee was Pope's palliative for these headaches.

THE EARLY PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS OF WINCHESTER

BY A. CECIL PIPER, CITY LIBRARIAN, WINCHESTER

THE following notes, dealing with the printers and booksellers of Winchester up to the year 1800, are based principally upon my researches among the local archives of the City, now housed in the Winchester Public Library. The history of the book trade in Winchester is an interesting phase of its history, about which very little has been written ; although there is sufficient material for the compilation of a bibliographical history of Winchester, especially when we remember the famous school of illumination carried on in the scriptorium of the Cathedral Church during the time of Æthelwold. There was also a considerable bookbinding industry, Winchester bindings being well known for their good workmanship. But this phase of my subject is outside the limits of the present article. In my previous notes on 'The Book Trade in Winchester', published in *The Library*, 3rd Series, vol. vii, 1916, pp. 191-7, full extracts are printed from the City Archives relating to a number of the early Winchester printers and booksellers.

PRINTERS

Cotton, in his *Typographical Gazetteer*, mentions that in 1545 there was published a violent attack on Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester at that time. It bears the title *The Rescuynge of the Romische Fox ; otherwyse called, The Examination of the Hunter, deuised by Steven Gardiner*, and was written by William Turner under the pseudonym of William Wraghton. A colophon at the end reads ' Imprynted have at Winchester,

'anno domini 1545, 4 nonas Martii. By me Hanse Hit prik'. It is now quite certain that this book was not printed at Winchester at all, and it is very doubtful if it was even printed in England. Most probably it was printed on the continent, possibly in Switzerland or Holland.

I can find no trace of a printing press having been established in Winchester before the end of the seventeenth century. The earliest date I have found is 1691, the following entry occurring under that year in the local records :

'Printing the Ordinances £3. 5. 6.'

but no printer's name is given. It is very probable that there was a printer at work in the City at this time, and that these City Ordinances were printed here ; but there is no definite proof of this.

The late Alderman W. H. Jacob, a local antiquary of some note, says that James Ayres was at work in 1720, but I have been unable to verify this. The earliest date I can find any mention of this printer is 1751, and the latest 1758, various entries in the local archives, such as charges for printing done for the Council, indentures, &c., occurring between these dates. There are two books printed by James Ayres, but both are undated, viz. *Poems on several occasions, English and Latin*, by J. D. Cotton, and a *Sermon on St. Peter's Repentance*. Both Alderman Jacob, and F. A. Edwards in his paper on 'Early Hampshire printers', published in the *Hampshire Field Club Proceedings*, vol. ii, 1890-3, ascribe these volumes to 1720 or thereabouts, but I think this is open to dispute.

According to Negus's *List of Printing-houses*, there were two presses at work in Hampshire in 1724, one at Gosport and the other in Winchester. There appears to be no record of the name of the Winchester printer of this date.

In 1725 Isaac James Philpott, or Philpot, began printing, as in the 'Ninth Book of Ordinances' of the City is the following interesting record :

‘ 14th August, 1725. Agreed and ordered at and by the
‘ same Assembly, that Isaac James Philpott shall be per-
‘ mitted and allowed to use the Trades of a Printer and
‘ Bookseller within this City paying for a Fyne or Com-
‘ position for such permission One pound one shilling, he
‘ being not qualified by any means to use the said Trades
‘ without such Composition or allowance within this City.’

On 20 December 1732 we find that Philpott was allowed
£25 from Sir Thomas White’s bequest to the City for assisting
deserving tradesmen. Philpott also had a bookbinder’s busi-
ness in addition to his printing and bookselling business. The
earliest book printed in Winchester that I can trace was
printed by Philpott :

‘ Budworth (W.). A sermon preached at the Parish Church
‘ of All Saints in Southampton, Monday, January xxxi,
‘ 1731-2. Winton: printed by Isaac Philpot in the High-
street, MDCCXXXII.’

Isaac James Philpott was, in all probability, a relative of
James Philpot, who was a printer at Gosport in 1710. There
are a number of entries in the local records showing items
that Philpott printed for the City Council with the cost of
printing. He died before 1779, as a lease dated 23 August
1779, was granted to

‘ Mary Philpott, widow, relict and sole executrix of Isaac
‘ James Philpott ’.

The next printer working in the City appears to be William
Ayres, as in the ‘ Mayor’s Accounts ’ for 1742 and 1744 are
two receipted bills for printing done by him. He was probably
a son, or other relative, of the James Ayres mentioned above.

Between 1760 and 1802 John Burdon was at work, either
as a printer or bookseller, or both. His name appears in
the imprint of Warton’s *Description of the City, College,
and Cathedral of Winchester*, printed in London about 1760.
In 1778 he issued *Selectæ Historiæ ex C. J. Cæsare, Justino,*

L. A. Floro et C. Suetonio Tranquillo, in usum Scholæ Wintoniensis. Impensis J. Burdon, Winton, MDCCLXXVIII. Timperley says that Burdon was 'a very respectable bookseller at Winchester'.

In 1762 another member of the Ayres family, Henry, was printing, who, in June of that year, issued an *Account of days and hours when the posts arrive at and depart from the City of Winchester*. The imprint reads—'Printed by Henry Ayres 'and sold by J. Austen, clerk to the post office'.

A bookseller named Grenvill was in business in 1722, as there is extant a statement of accounts dated 1722-3, which mentions him. Between 1756 and 1781 we find a bookseller of the name of William Greenville, who later added a printing press to his business. He was probably the son of the above-named Grenvill, although it is just possible they may be one and the same; yet it is hardly likely, as he would have been a very old man by 1780. There is also a record of William Greenville having served the office of Low and High Bailiff in 1780-1. The only book I can trace printed by Greenville is an edition of Warton's *Description of Winchester*, which bears his imprint, and was published about 1780. In 1766 Greenville was granted one of the loans of £25 from Sir Thomas White's bequest.

In 1766 John Meaisey had a press, as there are several bills preserved in the local archives relating to work done for the City Council.

The next printer at work is John Wilkes, who also had a press in London, and was proprietor of the 'Encyclopaedia 'Londinensis'. The earliest date I can trace that he was at work in Winchester is 1772, when a lease of the premises formerly occupied by James Ayres in the High Street was granted to him. John Wilkes was a Freeman of the City, and the first Winchester proprietor of the *Hampshire Chronicle* which started at Southampton in 1772, and was shortly afterwards produced at Winchester, Wilkes printing it from 1778 to

1784. He lived in the parish of St. Lawrence, and was buried in that church in 1810. There is a stone in the same church to the memory of his wife, with the following inscription :

‘ Here lyeth Rebecca, the wife of John Wilkes, of this City, who departed this life the 22nd May, 1782, age 32.’ There are several bills for printing executed by Wilkes for the City Council, dated 1773-4 and 1778-80, preserved among our local records. Wilkes printed, in 1773, *The History and Antiquities of Winchester*, in two volumes, with illustrations drawn by W. Cave, also of Winchester. This is the earliest production from his press I can find.

John Sadler was in business as a printer and bookseller, in the High Street, in 1782, as we find him so described in a legal document of that date. The earliest book he published appears to be Jane Cave’s *Poems*, which he printed for the author in 1783. Sadler also printed and published the earliest known Hampshire directory in 1784, the preface of which was dated from Winchester, March 2, 1784.

Thomas Blagden is the next printer we find, and he, apparently, worked between 1784 and 1796. On a poster dated 10 May 1784, the imprint reads—‘ Winchester : Printed by T. Blagden, successor to J. Wilkes’. He also printed the *Hampshire Chronicle* from 1784 to 1791, and published *The Winchester Guide* in 1796. Thomas Blagden married, on 9 May 1790, a daughter of the Rev. William Hawkins, Vicar of Boldre and Lymington, Hampshire.

In 1785 was published *An Essay on Redemption*, by J. Balguy, second edition, Winchester : printed for Lockyer Davis, printer to the Royal Society. I cannot find any record of Davis having a press at Winchester. It may have been printed by a Winchester printer for Davis, or it may have been printed in London.

In 1786 James Robbins was a printer and bookseller. The earliest work he printed appears to be a sermon by James

Chelsum, printed in 1788. But his chief work was Milner's *History of Winchester*, in two volumes, 1798-1801. He printed a number of other works during the succeeding years, and his press was at work down to between 1820 and 1830. About 1829 he entered into partnership with Charles Henry Wheeler.

J. S. Adler was at work in 1787, as a form is extant, 'Return of Prices of Corn', which states that it was 'Printed by J. S. Adler, High Street', and is dated 13 January 1787.

In the 'Hampshire County Club Minute Book', under date 18 March 1790, is a list of bills to be paid, among the items being 'Collins, printer, £5. 13. 0.'

I can find no record of this printer; it is quite possible this item may refer to the Salisbury printer of that name, and not to a Winchester tradesman at all.

In the *Universal British Directory* for 1792 we find Robert Allen, Moses [or Moss] Dimmock, and Benjamin Long mentioned as printers and booksellers; while Joseph Bucknall printed the *Hampshire Chronicle* in 1795-6.

BOOKSELLERS

The earliest bookseller I have been able to trace is William Taylor, who was in business in 1663, as the imprint of a book published in London in that year, entitled *Look unto Jesus*, by 'Edward Lane, Vicar of Sparshatt, in the County of South, alias Hampshire', states that it was 'sold in Winchester by William Taylor, near the Chequer Gate'.

In St. Peter Chesil *Churchwardens' Accounts* for 1666 is the following entry:

'Paid to Thomas Heyd for a neue bocke 2. 6.'

Thomas Heyd may be identical with the 'Mr. Heade', from whom the Town Clerk of Winchester purchased parchment in 1658. [See my article on 'Parchment makers of Winchester', in *Library*, 3rd Series, vol. x, p. 67.] If so, he is the earliest bookseller recorded in the City.

In the 'Fifth Ledger Book', on 16 September 1668, is the record of a lease granted to a victualler in the City, of 'a tenement . . . neare the Market Howse . . . extending 'from the way leadinge to the Cathedrall Church . . . and 'hath on the east the Market Howse and on the west the 'dwelling house of Humfry Bowry, Bookseller'.

From 1682 onwards we find the name of William Clark or Clarke, bookseller, occurring on title-pages, while in the Corporation accounts under date 10 December 1703 there is an entry :

'Pd. Mr. Clark for a book for the Council House 9. 0.' This bookseller died before 1734, as an Ordinance, dated 16 April 1734, states :

'That—Clarke, widow of William Clarke, heretofore of 'this City, bookseller, decd., shall have the Marks in the 'room of Widow Walker, decd.'

William Colson was a bookseller during the first half of the eighteenth century, as another quaintly worded Ordinance, dated 13 March 1741, reads :

'That William Colson, of this City, Bookseller, an Aged 'man and a person who heretofore lived in good repute ' (tho' now gone to decay) shall be put an Almsman in 'Christ's Hospitall.'

In 1746 there was a bookseller of the name of Prior, who sold the *Winchester Journal, or, Weekly Review*, established in 1743, which, however, was printed at Reading, but afterwards printed at Winchester.

In addition to those booksellers who were also printers, and who have been dealt with above as printers, a Samuel Maunder was a bookseller in this city in 1791.

Appended is a chronological list of Winchester printers (to 1850) and booksellers (to 1800) so far as I can trace them.

110 *Early Printers and Booksellers of Winchester*

PRINTERS

- | | | | |
|--------|--|---------|---|
| 1691 | ? | c. 1800 | — Bucknill. |
| ? 1720 | James Ayres. | 1813 | William Jacob and
William Johnson. |
| 1724 | ? | 1828 | Charles Henry
Wheeler. |
| 1725 | Isaac James Philpott. | 1829 | James Robbins and
Charles Henry
Wheeler. |
| 1742 | William Ayres. | 1833 | Jacob Jacob. |
| 1760 | John Burdon. | 1835 | N. Warren. |
| 1762 | Henry Ayres. | 1838 | D. E. Gilmour.
Henry Moody. |
| 1766 | John Meaisey. | 1842 | H. Wooldridge. |
| 1772 | John Wilkes. | 1847 | W. Tanner. |
| 1780 | William Greenville. | 1848 | H. W. Cropp.
G. and H. Gilmour.
W. Hart.
R. Moody. |
| 1782 | John Sadler. | 1850 | John Fry.
William Savage. |
| 1784 | Thomas Blagden. | | |
| 1785 | Lockyer Davis (?). | | |
| 1786 | James Robbins. | | |
| 1787 | J. S. Adler. | | |
| 1792 | Robert Allen.
Moses [or Moss] Dim-
mock.
Benjamin Long. | | |
| 1795 | Joseph Bucknall. | | |
| 1799 | William Jacob. | | |

BOOKSELLERS

- | | | | |
|------------|-----------------------------|------|--|
| 1658 | Thomas Heyd or
Heade. | 1746 | — Prior. |
| 1663 | William Taylor. | 1756 | William Greenville. |
| 1682 | William Clark or
Clarke. | 1760 | John Burdon. |
| 1687 | Humfry Bowry. | 1782 | John Sadler. |
| c. 1700-40 | William Colson. | 1786 | James Robbins. |
| 1722 | — Grenvill. | 1791 | Samuel Maunder. |
| 1725 | Isaac James Phil-
pott. | 1792 | Robert Allen.
Moses [or Moss] Dim-
mock.
Benjamin Long. |

THE DIVISION OF RARE ENGLISH BOOKS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES ¹

WITHIN the past twelvemonths the completion of the sale of the Huth Library, the progress made in dispersing the treasures of the Christie Miller collection and the sale of the Mostyn plays have carried to a climax the absorption by American collectors of most of the rarer early books of English literature which were still in private ownership in England. The process has been going on ever since I have had anything to do with books, and I think probably began in the seventies of the last century. Certainly in 1886, when I had a hand in the preparation for press of Mr. Frederick Locker's catalogue of his 'Rowfant Books', it must have been going on for some years, for contrary to the expectation not only of Mr. Locker himself, but of Bernard Quaritch, who published the catalogue, the entire impression sold out immediately, and the orders for it came mainly from the United States. Mr. Locker was one of the very few collectors who have treated book buying as a fine art. He aimed at bringing together a representative collection of the best English imaginative literature, as far as possible in the first editions of each book, and by knowledge and good taste gave his gatherings a real artistic unity. Long before his catalogue was printed the bibliophiles of New York had found him out and taken his cabinet of small books as a model especially appropriate to an English-speaking collector. Before they bought his catalogue they

¹ In writing this paper I have made free use of portions of articles on the Export of Rare Books to America, contributed in December 1919 and January 1920 to the *Observer*, the courtesy of whose Editor in allowing me to do so I very gratefully acknowledge.

had already been buying books of the same class as those he loved, and they have been buying them busily ever since, at first on a small scale, latterly, whenever occasion has offered, by sweeping the board practically clean. The history of the movement ought surely to be written, and whoever writes it I hope that Mr. Beverly Chew will be persuaded to contribute an introduction, as no one else can know so much about the movement or has had a larger share in guiding it to worthy ends.

Whenever that history comes to be written I believe that it will be recorded that the transference of our English literary rarities has been on a much larger scale in the case of the books printed after 1660 than of the earlier and more highly priced books about which we have lately heard so much. The transference of these has indeed been very considerable. Half a century ago the modest collection of Thomas P. Barton, a batch of Shakespeariana which James Lenox had bought for £600, and nine plays (since destroyed by fire) in the University of Virginia were nearly the only Shakespeare quartos in the United States. Curiously enough, these are still almost the only Shakespeare quartos in public ownership in the States, as I presume the Elizabethan Club at Yale is a private body; but the number in private hands is so great that there are now more of these quartos on the other side of the Atlantic than on this. Of course, there is always a chance of a dozen or more plays, preserved from destruction by being bound together in a fat volume, turning up in some English country house, but I only know of one considerable batch still remaining in private ownership in England. Fortunately, there are good sets at the British Museum, at the Bodleian Library, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and minor ones elsewhere; but the privately owned copies are nearly all gone. As regards the Shakespeare folios I believe that not only are there more of them now

in the United States than in England, but that it is only in one or more American libraries that copies of the later folios bearing all the possible varieties of imprints can be seen in juxtaposition, and complete proof be thus obtained that these varieties of imprint do not carry with them any textual significance. No institution on either side of the water could now afford to buy the requisite number of copies of such expensive books merely to demonstrate this (it was not without some searchings of conscience that the British Museum a few years ago completed its set of copies of the first edition of *Paradise Lost* with all the variant title-pages that can be proved to exist); but it is a good thing to have it demonstrated somewhere, and the private collector who undertakes such a burden, be he English or American, deserves the praise of bibliographers. In the same way, while the British Museum is well content with its four First Folios and only regrets that Mr. Grenville did not leave his in the original binding, the existence of a much greater number of copies in Mr. Folger's ownership (I wish I could say 'in his library') offers a promise of future possibilities of a really exhaustive collation which is all to the good. The fact remains that within a comparatively few years American collectors have brought together materials for the study of Shakespeare's text which fully equal and perhaps slightly surpass those in British ownership. It is a very fine achievement, and one which every wise Englishman will view not merely without jealousy, but with the greatest possible pleasure that they have thought it worth accomplishing, and have accomplished it.

The only valid ground for resenting the American absorption of so large a proportion of the rare books which till lately remained in private ownership in England would be a demonstration that the total stock is too small to bear division, and that thus every book which goes to the United

States is a loss to English scholarship. As regards unique books there is a real difficulty, because bibliographical study is greatly facilitated by all the books of a series being available for comparison under a single roof; but even the loss of a unique book is not irreparable if a facsimile can be obtained in its place, and of most old books enough copies have survived to make division quite harmless. It is absurd to suggest that England is being denuded of its rarest early books, when the plain fact is that by the time the American purchases began the larger half of the important books, thanks to the generosity of a succession of benefactors, had already passed into the great English libraries.

As a printed bookman, a student of the younger branch of bibliography, I have no special knowledge of manuscripts. But it is notorious that, save for the collections formed by William Morris and Richard Bennett, purchased by Mr. J. P. Morgan, and his own valuable additions to these, and for some recently acquired by Mr. Huntingdon, there are very few important manuscripts in the United States. On the other hand, the wealth of both the British Museum and the Bodleian Library, both in English and French manuscripts, is very great, and behind these two sister libraries there stand the University Library and Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and also the College Libraries at Cambridge and Oxford, and the Cathedral libraries all over England. At the magnificent exhibition of illuminated manuscripts held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1908, from which the larger libraries were bound by their statutes to hold aloof, the colleges and cathedrals contributed over a fifth of the exhibits, the rest being supplied by private owners. Despite the departure of the Morris and Bennett MSS., some of those of Mr. Huth (the best were claimed under the terms of his will for the British Museum), and now some of Mr. Yates Thompson's, it is probable that during the last thirty years more fine

manuscripts have entered England from abroad than have been exported, and the great bulk of the valuable manuscripts in the country are in public or semi-public ownership, from which they can only be wrested by force of arms. Here, at least, it is evident that the United States is suffering the fate of the late-comer, and can never rival the English collections.

When we turn from manuscripts to early printed books, the case is not more striking, but capable of more striking presentation, because we can call figures to our aid. In 1898, when Robert Proctor issued his 'Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum from the invention of printing to the year 1500, with notes of those in the Bodleian Library', he was able to register 9,841 different editions of this period in the two libraries with which he dealt. His book, which carried out on a great scale a scheme of Henry Bradshaw's, not only revolutionized the study of early printing, but gave a great impetus to collecting. In order to forward the work which Proctor began, the British Museum has purchased over twelve hundred of these 'fifteeners' since 1898, and the total in the two libraries now can hardly be much under 11,000. In the United States Mr. Morgan has a fine collection, and a book-lover of quite another stamp, General Rush C. Hawkins, the doyen of fifteenth-century men, who began buying in 1855, has given a finely chosen and finely arranged collection of books 'mostly from the presses of the first printers' to the Ann Mary Brown Memorial at Providence, R.I. There are also many medical fifteeners in the Surgeon-General's Library at Washington, and a nice collection formed by John Boyd Thacher at the Library of Congress. But a 'census' of these fifteenth-century books owned in the United States has lately been taken and most admirably edited by Mr. G. P. Winship, and the total number of different editions reported is 'more than 6,640', i.e. only about 60 per cent. of those in the British Museum and

Bodleian, and not much more than half the number that could be identified in public libraries in England, excluding all those in private ownership. Here again the United States is a late-comer.

Thanks to Mr. Morgan and Mr. Huntingdon, American bookmen have no excuse for ignorance of what was done in England in the fifteenth century. Mr. Morgan's collection of Caxtons is now about equal to that at the Cambridge University Library and ranks above the Bodleian, being only surpassed by the British Museum and the John Rylands Library, which was built up on the purchase of the Spencer books. With the aid of the Devonshire Caxtons Mr. Huntingdon's must now be nearly abreast of the Bodleian. Both libraries are so young that it may be thought that in a few more years they will catch up and pass the older collections, but in these matters it is not the first but the later steps that are difficult and expensive; to secure fifty Caxtons is very much more than twice as hard as to secure twenty-five. In the preface to his admirable bibliography of 'English Fifteenth Century Books', Mr. Gordon Duff tells us, 'roughly speaking, one half of the books here chronicled are now known only from single copies, from a leaf or two, or even from fragments of a leaf'. The great majority of these unique books and fragments are in the older libraries, from which they can never be removed, as is the case, for instance, with the wonderful little volume of poetical pieces in small quarto bequeathed by Bishop Moore to the Cambridge University Library. The British Museum, the Bodleian, and the John Rylands Library all have their unique Caxtons. So far as I know, the only one in the United States is the 'Cato' in Mr. Huntingdon's library, though Mr. Morgan's *Horæ*, with its 62 leaves printed on vellum against four on paper in the Bodleian, is entitled to a *proxime accessit*. Out of 99 books and documents known to have been printed by Caxton, the

British Museum possesses 58 and fragments of eleven others. It has 42 De Wordes printed before the close of 1500, 36 Pynsons, 24 Lettous and Machlinias, and 25 books for the English market printed abroad. In Oxford books it is beaten by both the Bodleian Library (as is just) and the Rylands, which have respectively eleven and ten against its eight. In St. Albans books it ties with Cambridge and the Rylands Library, with a total of four out of eight printed. Altogether the Museum has (besides duplicates) 200 copies and twenty fragments recorded by Mr. Duff, Rylands 139 (plus one fragment), Cambridge 124 (plus nine), Bodley 108 (plus 20). The four collections differ considerably in their contents, and their grand total of distinct editions cannot possibly be equalled by any combination of new collectors. Up to the present, unless I am mistaken, neither Mr. Morgan nor Mr. Huntingdon's English incunabula as a whole (despite their strength in Caxtons) approaches the Bodleian total.

When we turn from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, or the extended period to the close of the year 1640, which is usually taken to mark the end of English 'early' books, the handicap of the late-starters is still heavy. In the few years he has been at work Mr. Huntingdon has got together a wonderfully fine collection of these books. It is less remarkable, however, for its quantity than its quality, as it certainly does not contain more than 4,000 different editions against some 16,000 in the British Museum, over 11,000 in the Bodleian, and over 8,000 at Cambridge. Here again the three great English collections are on markedly different lines, and must total between them over 20,000 different titles, excluding duplicates, and I shall be surprised if, when the 'Short-Title Catalogue of English Books printed before the close of 1640' is completed, the libraries in the United States add more than, at most, 500 new titles to these.

Up to the present the most serious assaults of American

buyers have aimed at the capture of Elizabethan plays. When Mr. W. W. Greg printed his 'Hand-list' of these in 1900 he recorded altogether (if I have counted rightly) 1,011 editions, or separate issues, of plays printed up to 1640. American competition for plays had then hardly begun. Twenty-four editions of which Mr. Greg found mention he could not trace; of the remaining 987 no fewer than 845 were in the British Museum, and 73 of those not in the Museum were in the Bodleian, and some thirty others in the Dyce collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum or the Capell collection at Trinity College, Cambridge. Between them the four libraries accounted for nearly 97 per cent. of the total number of these plays that could be traced in 1900. In the last twenty years most of the odd 3 per cent. have gone to the United States, mainly in the Devonshire collection, and perhaps another thirty editions, not known in 1900, which high prices have attracted to the market, have mostly gone there also.

As late as 1906 the British Museum was able to secure as many as seven of those in the little volume which an Irish owner is said to have sent to Messrs. Sotheby with a label pasted on its cover and no other wrapping, so lightly did he esteem its value. Since 1906 the Museum has acquired only about half-a-dozen others, one (it is a pleasure to note) as a gift from an American collector. The 97 per cent. of traceable plays formerly owned by English public libraries has sunk to about 95 per cent. But 95 per cent. is not a bad proportion, and here also, in the most hotly assailed section of our storehouse, it would seem that there is still no reason for English book-lovers to take alarm.

In connexion with the visit of American Professors of English to the British Museum in July a special exhibition of the Rarer Books of English Literature was arranged in the King's Library and has remained on view, under careful

observation, lest the poor paper on which many of the rarest books are printed should be injured by exposure to the (Bloomsbury) sunlight. The experience gained in arranging this exhibition has certainly strengthened my belief that down to about the death of Milton the Museum has very nearly all the books it ought to have, and has them as a rule in very fine copies, with only just enough conspicuous lacunae (Caxton's *Malory* being the chief) to curb any undue self-satisfaction. The Bodleian is also very rich, both libraries having benefitted largely from the gifts and bequests of great collectors, as it is to be hoped that American libraries will benefit in the near future. With such a wealth of editions available for the use of English students, it is surely easy to rejoice that our American fellow-workers, many of whom have made such notable contributions to research of late years, should also have adequate materials on which to work.

For the post-Restoration period I must confess I am somewhat less at my ease. The publication in 1883 of its special Catalogue of English Books printed up to 1640 has caused the British Museum to continue to make special efforts to enrich this collection ever since I have been on the staff. Mr. Proctor's 'Index' to our fifteenth-century books (published in 1898) has in like manner stimulated the purchase of incunabula. In the meanwhile the post-Restoration books (which even now fetch only small prices compared to the earlier ones, and so have been very attractive to collectors of moderate means) have been slipping over to the United States in a steady stream, and I am not at all confident that if figures could be worked out for this later period the Museum would make, even in numbers, as brave a show as I could wish. Certainly in point of condition, always a difficulty in the Dryden and Pope period, its copies often leave much to be desired, for the quite legitimate but regrettable reason that they have not been bought by great collectors,

but by a library for students, founded not so many years after Pope died, and which has thus acquired most of its eighteenth-century books as working copies without any particular thought for what we now call their 'exhibition value'. A private collector would, of course, have long ago sold the working copies and bought better ones; but it is not easy for a library with many calls on its funds to imitate the magnificences of the private collector, and the showcases devoted to the period 1660-1780 have certainly given me less pleasure than any others in the special exhibition. After 1780 there is a distinct improvement for some years, with a specially excellent show of Shelleys, partly due to the enthusiasm of Dr. Garnett. The exhibition comes to an end at 1830, from which date onwards the Museum depends very largely on the copies received under the Copyright Acts, which before their writers become famous naturally see much hard service in the Reading Room. The other great English libraries must be much in the same condition, and it is thus in the more modern books, the exportation of which has had no spectacular features and therefore attracted very little attention, that it is most difficult to view the transference of English books to the United States with entire equanimity.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

OLD ENGLISH POETICAL ARCHETYPES

DR. GREG'S review of my pamphlet (see *The Library*, June 1920, pp. 58-61) is highly gratifying to me. I am glad to find that a critic so peculiarly qualified to judge in such a matter is able to accept my proof that many Old English poems were copied from manuscripts written on loose sheets uniform in quantity of writing, and regularly ending with the conclusion of a sentence and a verse. That he should refuse to follow me in the conclusion that these curious phenomena indicate the method of composition of the Old English poets does not surprise me. This conclusion would admittedly be improbable apart from the positive evidence in its favour. But I must continue to regard it as established, unless some other way can be found of completely accounting for the facts; and it does not appear that Dr. Greg has done this even to his own satisfaction. His criticism of the table on p. 8 is certainly justified; and he is probably right in objecting to my suggested explanation of the position of the X in the margin of the manuscript. (This explanation, however, was proposed only as the less likely of two alternatives.)

My purpose in the present writing, however, is not to comment on the review, but to confess and rectify a mistake of my own which my critic has not pointed out. In the Old English paraphrase of Genesis, the story of the creation of Eve (Gen. ii. 21-2) comes before the account of Paradise and its rivers (Gen. ii. 8-14). I erroneously assumed that this inversion of the Bible order was due to a dislocation in the text of the paraphrase, and suggested that two leaves of the extant manuscript had changed places when the

volume was being repaired. Further consideration has convinced me that the transposition is due to the difficulties which the paraphrast found in dealing with the duplicate accounts of the creation in the first two chapters of the Bible. When he came to the words 'masculum et feminam creavit eos' in Gen. i. 27, he felt that he could not leave this summary statement without amplification. He therefore imported the account of the making of woman from the second chapter, but after this returned to the original sequence. The supposed dislocation in the text of the paraphrase is therefore non-existent, so that I need not dispute with Dr. Greg as to the likeliest way of accounting for it.

I may here mention that Professor Craigie has pointed out to me that I was wrong in regarding the 'Daniel' poem as an insoluble exception to my theory of the origin of the numbered sections. When due allowance is made for the insertion of the 'Azarias' from another manuscript, the figures work out correctly.

HENRY BRADLEY.

REVIEW

BOOKS IN MANUSCRIPT¹

As the first edition of this work, which appeared so long ago as 1893, has now been revised and corrected by the author, it seems permissible to give some account of its contents for the benefit of a fresh generation of readers. It differs in some respects from other books on the subject. Writers of treatises on palaeography have generally addressed themselves to the student who desired to become an expert, and is prepared to swallow the bitter pill of knowledge uncoated by sugar in the shape of literary presentment. The graces of style therefore did not concern them. Mr. Madan has also taken into consideration a much neglected class of men, who, though scanty in numbers, are not to be despised, viz. amateurs, who make a hobby of collecting manuscripts and wish to gain knowledge which will enable them to appreciate their treasures. He thus caters not only for the poor student, but also for Maecenas himself. He has, therefore, written a book which treats the subject in a somewhat unconventional manner. Its most striking characteristics are lucidity of exposition and studied simplicity; while from time to time, as the writer warms to his subject, as notably in his description of illuminations, he becomes eloquent. Further, there is an undercurrent of humour which prevents the reader's interest from flagging: sometimes indeed Mr. Madan jokes. In short, though an expert, he is a stylist, and has produced a 'Palaeography without Tears'.

The work consists of eleven chapters, the first of which is introductory. Chap. ii deals with materials for writing

¹ *Books in Manuscript*. F. Madan. Second edition, revised (Kegan Paul, 1920).

and forms of books. Apart from ordinary information, such as appears in all works upon the subject, it contains some interesting details about the introduction of paper into Europe and the date of watermarks, while the origin of the terms folio, quarto, octavo, &c. is explained in the writer's most lucid style. Chap. iii discusses the history of writing from the earliest period until our own day. The reader cannot fail to be interested by Mr. Madan's example of a modern ideogram, viz. the printer's symbol of a hand with outstretched finger to direct attention, which he terms 'a pictorial symbol, saying as clearly as in words, Look there'. The changes which letters have undergone in the course of history are exemplified by the different forms of *D* and *M*. The rest of the chapter deals with the development of the national hands during the Dark Ages and the Renaissance in the eighth century under Charlemagne, to which we owe the great gift of the Carolingian minuscule; also, with the systems of abbreviation by suspension and contraction, as enunciated by Traube. Chap. iv informs us about scribes and their ways. The account of a mediaeval scriptorium is very vivid. The scribe was not allowed to talk but had to signify his wants by signs. 'If a scribe needed a book, he extended his hands and made a movement as of turning over leaves. If it was a missal that was wanted, he superadded the sign of a cross; if a psalter, he placed his hands on his head in the shape of a crown (a reference to King David); if a lectionary, he pretended to wipe away the grease (which might easily have fallen on it from a candle); if a small work was needed, not a Bible or service-book, but some inferior tractate, he placed one hand on his stomach and the other before his mouth. Finally, if a pagan work was required, he first gave the general sign, and then scratched his ear in the manner of a dog.' Among documents cited in this chapter special interest attaches to one furnished by the Paston Letters,

showing the sum paid under various items to a scribe at Bury St. Edmunds in 1467 for producing a Psalter. A selection is given from the colophons in which scribes expressed their feelings when their work was over. They seem to have been thirsty souls with a great craving for wine. Chap. v deals with illuminations, a subject dear to the writer. He refers to the delicately painted miniatures portraying some scene from the artist's own experience—'a market-place, it may be, with a housewife and loom within a doorway, a blacksmith at his forge and the neighbours chaffering and bargaining in the open square, above which tower the town hall and cathedral of his native town; or some banquet at the court of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, with its parade of magnificence, the gorgeous hangings and crowds of long-slippered pages' (space alone prevents me from continuing the quotation). The methods employed by the illuminators in different countries are described with great learning, although with great clearness and simplicity. Chap. vi is concerned with the errors of scribes, a vast subject which is illustrated from the manuscripts of Virgil. Among the 'curiosities of palaeography' cited at the end of this chapter may be mentioned a passage in the *Te Deum*, where 'Make them to be numbered with Thy Saints in glory everlasting' is due to misreading the Latin *munerari* as *numerari*. A still more singular error is in Zech. xi. 17 where the A. V. gives, 'Woe to the idol shepherd', a misprint for 'idle', which has survived in all its reproductions.

Chap. vii is devoted to 'Famous Libraries'. It contains an interesting description of the library at Titchfield Abbey in A.D. 1400, taken from the Latin register. Mr. Madan writes for English readers; otherwise, without doubt, he would have dwelt on the glories of Bobbio, Lorsch, and Cluny. For a similar reason when writing of modern libraries he deals fully with the British Museum and the

Bodleian, but passes briefly over the libraries of the Continent. Chap. viii deals with 'Famous MSS.'. The number of these is so many that it is only possible to give a very small selection: otherwise, as Mr. Madan remarks, his manual would be turned into a catalogue. He has, therefore, selected a few, nearly all within the British Isles. Among them figure works especially interesting to English students, such as Beowulf and Cædmon. The romantic story which belongs to so many manuscripts is well illustrated from the tale of St. Margaret's Gospel-Book.

Chap. ix tells us of literary forgeries. Among the examples referred to are the Letters of Phalaris, the False Decretals, the poems of Chatterton, the Ireland forgeries, the fictitious MS. of Uranius written in the last century by Simonides, and the Vrain-Lucas autographs. The last of these were very impudent fabrications. They included letters from a large number of famous persons, among them being one from Pontius Pilate to Tiberius, and one from Judas Iscariot to St. Mary Magdalene! Also, they were written in modern French on paper with a water-mark, frequently a *fleur-de-lys*! In spite of these suspicious circumstances they were bought for a large sum by a member of the French Academy.

The last two chapters will be of special use to collectors and amateurs generally. Chap. x deals with the treatment and cataloguing of manuscripts. It gives practical advice to some one who has just bought a manuscript at a sale, e.g. a missal, Book of Hours, or other liturgical work, to enable him to identify its contents, to determine its age, to find out if it is complete and in good condition, also to catalogue it. Chap. xi deals with public and private records, such as Domesday Book, Knights' Fees, Pipe Rolls, Deeds, Wills, Heraldic Visitations, and Court Rolls. The subject is intricate, but Mr. Madan's exposition is a model of clearness and he mingles amusement with instruction.

Custom demands that a reviewer should endeavour to pick a few holes, so I mention a few points to which exception may be made. On p. 28 Charlemagne appears to be spoken of as the originator of the Carolingian minuscule. Mr. Madan says that 'in the field of writing it has been granted to no one but him to influence profoundly the history of the alphabet'. The words of Einhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, seem to show that the King could barely write. He says (chap. xxv. 3): 'temptabat et scribere . . . sed parum successit labor praeposterus ac sero inchoatus.' The origin of this beautiful script is wrapped in mystery, since it does not exhibit insular characteristics, as would be expected from its connexion with Alcuin of York, Charlemagne's Minister of Education. On p. 84 Lucan is joined with Propertius as an example of an author whose text rests on few manuscripts. This seems a little odd, since editors enumerate some five manuscripts belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries, apart from fragments of fourth-century manuscripts. On p. 111 the Sinaiticus is said to be the oldest existing of all New Testament MSS. This may be so, but most writers make it a little later than the Vaticanus. On p. 126 the Verona *codex* of Sulpicius Severus, dated A.D. 517, is said to be the earliest dated vellum manuscript. The celebrated manuscript of Hilary belonging to the Chapter House of St. Peter in Rome has a colophon to the effect that it was written in A.D. 509-10, so it seems to possess priority. On p. 145 Mr. Madan discusses and rejects the strange theory of Ross and Hochart that the Annals of Tacitus were forged by Poggio. His words imply that it is only the first books, viz. i-vi, whose authenticity has been disputed. The doubts expressed by Ross and Hochart, however, extended also to the later books, xi-xvi, also. As the facts about the manuscripts of Tacitus are not very well known, I venture to state them. Each part of the Annals is known from one manuscript

only. Books i-vi are contained in the first Medicean, a manuscript written in the ninth century, probably in Germany; while xi-xvi are found in the second Medicean, a manuscript written in the eleventh century, probably at Monte Cassino. The first to come to light was Med. 2, which was known to Boccaccio as early as 1370, ten years before Poggio was born, and was apparently stolen by Boccaccio from Monte Cassino. Med. 1, as is shown by a letter of Pope Leo X, published by F. Philippi in *Philologus* XLV, p. 378, was brought to Italy from Corvey (Westphalia) in 1508, forty-nine years after the death of Poggio. It is, therefore, clear that neither part of the *Annals* could have been forged by Poggio.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

The Library

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

SOME EXPERIENCES OF A BIBLIOGRAPHER

A PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS¹

DELIVERED 18 OCTOBER 1920

By FALCONER MADAN

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

IT is customary for an incoming President of this Society to make some sort of address within his first year, the subject and style being left to himself to determine.

In considering what I should select to speak about, this afternoon, I had to remember a pitfall into which some speakers in my position in *other* societies have been known to fall—namely that those who are *not* gifted with profundity think that they must for once pose as deep philosophers and omniscient instructors, and deliver their address on those lines; while on the other hand some of the truly wise consider it their duty to be popular, and to assume a style of facetious levity—which only makes the audience laugh at them instead of with them.

In view of these dangers, and as I am neither sapient nor,

¹ *The Society expressed a desire that the Address should be printed as delivered. Its conversational style has therefore not been altered.*

I hope, quite foolish, I made up my mind to take a straightforward intermediate course, and give you what any man can give, and what is sometimes the only thing which a man has to offer, one's own experiences, on the chance of being able to interest you, not in what I personally have undertaken, but in the principles which have from time to time emerged. I shall therefore venture to narrate how I came to be a bibliographer—if I am one—and then to put before you shortly—this is the real point—the problems which I found myself 'up against' from time to time.

As to myself I shall say no more to start with, than that I am a Gloucestershire man and that I have this month completed a half-century of life at Oxford. From this fact the more profound among us will be able to conjecture when I first came up to the University.

It was before my degree that I learnt my first bibliographical lesson. It is one that I dare say we have all learnt. It is that, given a fair amount of natural aptitude and some power of concentration, we can definitely get a sort of super-faculty for dealing with the book or books before us. I was grinding, at the call of duty, at Greek and Latin for Classical Moderations, and I find that on July 5, 1871 I first noted down a few misprints in Liddell and Scott—a Greek lexicon which I had till then regarded as an impeccable authority, even in details. Then more misprints came somehow: 327 turned up before the end of that year: 533 in the next year, and so on. It was possible, it seemed, to get a power of detecting misprints, not exactly unaccountable but quite beyond reasonable expectation. This was some encouragement to know: but the hard work and the aptitude were of course quite necessary preliminaries. We all know about Newton and the apple and what *he* saw in it (being fully prepared), which other people had *not* seen, but I prefer to take the very latest example—October 1920. We have most of us perused a Quarto of Shakspeare, in facsimile

or otherwise ; but the new fact which at least one of them discloses about the ways of Elizabethan compositors was not seen by any one until the vision came about a fortnight ago to our kindly autocrat and honorary secretary, Mr. A. W. Pollard.

Another point about that Liddell and Scott. My friends tried hard to dissuade me from wasting time over these wretched little lists of errata, when I ought to be working for Moderations, but I was wicked enough to stick to it. I do not want to draw any immoral moral on the rewards of iniquity, *but*—to make a long story short—I have before my mind a scene some years later in the Deanery at Christ Church, when a voice from about seven feet above me (Dean Liddell was standing on a sort of bench in front of the fire, and I sitting in a very low chair) offered me the Editorship of the Lexicon. Luckily I remembered in time those old lines :—

‘ Condendaque Lexica mandat

Damnatis—poenam pro poenis omnibus unam—.’

Though I was not able to accept the offer, the truth remains that these, insignificant and discouraged lists, did lead, not only to a discovery of an aptitude for details, but also pretty directly to work on the Lexicon and finally to a good offer. When one has found out a *differentia* in oneself, that way probably lies success.¹

After my degree in 1874 I had the opportunity of staying on at Oxford, and so became interested in the history and literature of the place : who could possibly help it ? And I accident-

¹ I used to know a Head of a House at Oxford, a fine old English gentleman, without more learning than a gentleman should have, but shrewd and kindly. He was discussing the freshmen with some of the Fellows during an early morning walk, and the case of a freshman was mentioned, of whom little was known except that he came up with the reputation of being able to put his fist into his mouth. He had a wide frog-like mouth and a small aristocratic fist. There was no obvious remark to make, when the Head suddenly said ‘ Well, I suppose every one can do something better than any one else—and he’d better do it ’. That is what I am trying to express.

ally noticed, in 1878, that in the well-known Bliss Sale of twenty years before, the catalogue contained a list of Oxford books possessed by Dr. Philip Bliss, arranged in chronological order. It seemed to me that it would be rather nice to copy out that list (as it contained not more than about 1,300 books), and see if it was exhaustive. Exhaustive! well, it's the usual story. I suppose I have now noted not 1,300, but about 20,000 more Oxford books. And there-out emerges what seems to me a sound principle in bibliography—that it is better to choose a limited subject, one within your capacity, and let it expand, rather than too wide a subject which you have subsequently to contract. It is as Browning says:—

‘That low man seeks a little thing to do,

Sees it and does it :

This high man, with a great thing to pursue,

Dies, ere he knows it.’

Not only does every subject grow, when looked into, but there are few sadder feelings than when you realize that you have taken too much on yourself, and that you must throw overboard much valuable material which has only, in the end, impeded your progress. It all has to be jettisoned like Jonah, and there may be no whale in the story.

So I took just the bibliography of the University and City of Oxford, rejecting the Home Counties of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire, and other tempting outliers; and I have never repented that.

The study of Oxford Books has been my chief hobby ever since 1878, and it has suggested many things in its course.

For instance, it has led me to lay great stress on *Chronology* as a key to arrangement in all matters which allow of it, such as bibliographies of a writer's works, of an institution or town, or of a controversy. In a controversy, for instance, if your bibliography is arranged chronologically and even (as we know is possible) not merely by years, but by months or actually

days (think of Thomason's work or the Tractarian Movement) : it is obvious that both you and your reader have the advantage of observing how much the several writers had before them and so probably knew, or certainly might have known, and what they could not possibly have known, because some enlightening pamphlet was not yet before the world. Chronology gives you also this real advantage that your work is rounded off and complete up to the date reached, and will never have to be done again—at least so you flatter yourself. Others can start at the point where you leave off. Besides, for a man without much leisure, it is decidedly easier to lay down and resume your bibliography, when it progresses by years.

I take my courage in both hands, when I go on to assert that even in the bibliography of an author's literary output, chronological arrangement is preferable, compared with such divisions as complete works, separate pieces, contributions to periodicals, fly-sheets, and the like. The writer is not so divided, nor his growth, and what is lost by chronological arrangement can be made good by a proper index and proper cross-references. Even collected works, if issued in the author's life-time, come in their natural place : whatever follows in your book is seen to belong to a later development of the man. The contributions to periodicals are often simply the equivalent of pamphlets. Fly-sheets and minima may, I admit, in many cases be segregated, as otherwise disturbing one's sense of proportion. The important thing for your bibliography should be the orderly sequence of the man's thoughts, words, and works, as expressed in his publications. An alphabetical order gives none of this : a ' rational ' arrangement by subjects very little of it.

One of the most emphatic lessons to be learnt from the study of Oxford books is in the field of *Duplicates*. I have read a short paper before this Society on the Duplicity of Duplicates,¹

¹ Printed in the Society's *Transactions*. First Series, vol. xii, pp. 15-24.

so I will be brief about it. Whenever a Member of this Society studies in the British Museum with a book printed before 1800 he ought to, and must, order all the copies. I am sorry for the officials; 'I deeply sympathize,' as the Vulture said.

To give one example out of many, there is a Civil War pamphlet with the following title, 'A Complaint to the House of Commons, and Resolution taken up by the Free Protestant Subjects of the Cities of London and Westminster and the Counties adjacent', with the imprint 'Oxford, printed by Leonard Lichfield, printer to the University, 1642'.

Now there are no less than six different pamphlets conforming to the whole of that title and imprint. And what are the facts? Only two of the six were printed at Oxford at all, and one of the others is a satire on the original complaint. This is of course an abnormal example, but when the study of watermarks has progressed further, a certain section of this Society will undoubtedly, in their investigations into watermarks, look on books as regrettable discolorations of interesting paper. From that point of view there is no such thing as a duplicate, of course.

I would next lay stress on the propriety of *Degressive Bibliography*, that is to say, the view of books in proper perspective, and the treatment of them correspondingly.¹ The idea seems not yet to be taken seriously. But take the Oxford books of 1634, as an almost haphazard example. They simply clamour to be divided into at least three classes with graduated scales of description. The classes might be described as Princes, Knights, and humble retainers. There is the *Corpus Statutorum Universitatis Oxoniensis*, a great feat of codification, wonderful also as a proof of Archbishop Laud's practical statesmanship, for he had it printed, sent it out in a limited issue of about thirty copies, for *one year's trial*, actual trial, in the University,

¹ A memorandum on this is printed in the Society's *Transactions*, First Series, vol. ix, pp. 53-65.

and at the end of the year embodied suggested improvements by inserting manuscript slips. So there it stands, the printed code and the manuscript insertions : and it is the two *together* which form the 'codex authenticus et immutabilis', under which the University was ruled from 1634 till 1856. Obviously this book deserves special attention and description—it is a curiosity as well as an important book.

But there are also *Minor Pieces*. In 1634 a Proclamation about the Market of the City, with lists and prices ; John Scot's *Foundation of the University*, printed at Cambridge, and so on. They require intermediate treatment.

Last come the books which deserve to be registered as being products of the Oxford Press : with sufficient but not overflowing detail.

Now, these should be all dealt with on the basis of a degressive scale : so that the Codex should be fully, the Minor Pieces adequately, and the third class exactly, but not fully described. So too, if we take, not the three classes of a particular year, but successive periods, we find the three kinds again. I suggest, speaking generally, that up to the Restoration of 1660 *all* books deserve considerable attention, from 1660–1800 careful but less attention, and from 1800 ordinary attention : merely as a matter of date, and speaking quite generally.

From these considerations of details it may be a relief if I put before you a more general bibliographical question, perhaps of some interest : which has to be settled sooner or later.

Should one attempt, when it is appropriate, to appraise and state the residual value of the books described, their ultimate importance or otherwise ? I have met bibliographers who are of opinion that literary appreciation is not a part of bibliography, and further that any such attempt requires almost impossible powers—a fine critical mind and universal erudition. So it does, and it will not get them. But, as far as

my experience goes, in dealing with an old and forgotten work (I am not thinking of celebrated works), you should endeavour to let your future reader know—what he emphatically desires to know—whether the book is apparently sound in matter, method, and style. The point is that *you have* the book before you : he may never have it. *You* look at the preface, note the contents, perhaps read some part, before you pass on. It is probably the only chance of any estimate at all being made, and of the book rendering any help of which it is still capable, to the researcher or student. I think then that an honest, even if imperfect, estimate is, under the circumstances, better than none at all.

Now you shall hear no more about my Oxford books. I will briefly turn to three side-shows, in which I thought I could detect some human interest. I am a humble disciple of Sir William Osler in that respect. *He* never forgot the Man in his books, and never forgot the Press in its products.

Dame Europa's School. I hope some of us remember that admirable skit on the conduct of England in keeping out of the Franco-German War of 1870-1. It produced more translations, imitations, and continuations than even the Mulready Envelope—and that is saying a good deal. In 1881 I was able to describe about 170 pieces. The experience derived from that quest was chiefly the importance of making all possible inquiries of printers, publishers, and writers *before it is too late*. Most interesting details came out. The author is well known to have been a clergyman named Pullen, who quietly wrote it at or near Salisbury, and it was printed there. It came out on October 21, 1870, in an edition of 500 copies. That fell flat, and the printers were distributing the type, when somehow a call unexpectedly came for a second edition. They managed to provide 500 more copies for a second edition on November 17, 1870, nearly a month after the first. By the end of January 1871, the production of 8,000-10,000 copies a day

was not sufficient, and a hasty contract was made with Messrs. Spottiswoode of London to provide 50,000 copies at once as a supplement to the efforts of the local press.¹ By the end of February 290,000 copies had been sold. Then when it died down, the translations and imitations went merrily on. On them I cannot dwell, but all these divisions of the subject were interesting, largely owing to the letters I received in answer to my inquiries.

Sacheverell. There is plenty of human interest in that. The Sacheverell affair in 1709-10 hit every one in England under the fifth rib. The theologians were first out in the field, and—we know what the *Odium Theologicum* is capable of effecting through the Press. Then the politicians saw in it all kinds of crucial questions about Queen Anne's right to the throne, and fell into ecstasies of rage and mutual defiance, in print. Then when Sacheverell was brought to trial before the House of Lords, that let loose all the lawyers as well. One is bound to say that, though late in the day, they rushed into the fray with uncommon goodwill, and contributed their full quota to the general flood of Sacheverell pamphlets. However, this great flow subsided completely, and owing to the cheap and vile paper and printing, and the limited interest afterwards taken in the affair, there was a grand opportunity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century for picking up cheaply the literature, whenever it appeared in catalogues. For twenty-five years I gathered all that came into the market, and, though I issued a bibliography in 1883, I found that the real interest came in 1914, when I tried a quantitative analysis of the fish in my net. You see, in most booksellers' catalogues and even many bibliographies the books appear like drilled soldiers in a row, each as good as the others (and a good deal better too, as the Irishman added). One book does not stand

¹ All the London issue can be identified by small differences from the Salisbury printing.

out before another, as a rule, and each book seems to claim an almost equal right to be considered. But, for once, there was an opportunity for what I ventured to call (in a short paper before this Society) a 'new dimension' in Bibliography, the difference between a square and a cube, between a flat sheet and a solid body. The number of copies I had gathered (about 1,800 copies of 300 pamphlets) enabled me to state definitely which of the pamphlets were popular and sold well, and which fell flat at once. Though this is a singular experience, it is worth mentioning, for there must be other possible examples of the 'new dimensions', such as ballads.

My third excursus or extravagation was *Bradshaw*.

Not Henry Bradshaw, nor the Regicide, but the other Bradshaw—which Bishop Stubbs said that he had to study oftener than the Bible—the Railway Guide. It began in 1839, in the lifetime of any man who is now 80. Yet its early stages were quite obscure, and there is much interest in a book which is the one accessible record of the regular development of the gigantic Railway System of the present day. Nobody noticed till 1883 that it began with a Northern edition: then a Southern one followed, to be succeeded by an amalgamation of the two. Till 1916 no one had recorded a *Dublin* re-issue of Bradshaw in 1844, and so on. It reminds us that the unoccupied fields of bibliography are still all round us, and are ready to yield good harvests. We are only a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as the prophet says. On the value and interest of the cucumbers I need not enlarge before this Society. But let me mention just one particularly succulent plant, as it seems to me. Is there any considerable work dealing with the good and bad title-pages of any country's literature—a nation's fashion in titles, both the letter-press, and the setting of it with borders and ornaments?¹ I veritably

¹ I do not forget Mr. Pollard's works on titles, but he restricted himself rather to Early and to Ornamental titles.

believe there is none, in English. What a chance in front of any of us !

In the forty or fifty minutes allotted to me, I fear I may have crowded the canvas, so to speak, with too many ill-defined images, but my object has been to put before those of us who have *not* yet quite attained perfection, examples of the way in which the experiences of life bring up various principles ; some new and comparatively untried, and some old but still disputed. There are plenty more, for I have said nothing of the paramount need of some knowledge of Latin, for all bibliography except that of quite modern books, nothing of the value of studying MSS., if you have to deal with early books ; nor of maximum and minimum collation ; but I have said quite enough for this afternoon, especially as another meeting is to follow this one.

I will therefore conclude with a few sentences of more general import.

We all understand how desirable it is to have before us in our work, whatever it be, a record of the previous experiences and judgements of people who have busied themselves in our own line. To know those experiences and judgements, through the aid of bibliography, enables us to carry on *our* work not only quicker but better. We stand on the shoulders of our predecessors so to speak, and see further than they could, thanks to their precedent labours. This seems to me the most solid advantage which Bibliography aims at conferring on literary men.

And both in this matter and in others which lie about us, the Bibliographical Society has set itself a splendid task, and as far as I can see is doing very well. Our continuance and flourishing condition appear to demonstrate this. If properly carried on, Bibliography will be seen to be the groundwork to which every literary researcher and writer will instinctively turn, as supplying him with the first foundation layer for his own superstructure. He will find, let us hope, just what he

looks for, exact notices of what has already been done before him, and some appreciation of the value of that past literature for his present purpose. It is not too much to say that our work bears, or ought to bear, the same sort of relation to literary subjects of research as mathematics bear to natural science. If this be at all true, we have indeed a worthy ideal before us, and we are most fully justified in giving our lifelong efforts to attain it.¹

¹ At the close of Mr. Madan's address a vote of thanks to him was moved by Mr. G. R. Redgrave, Past-President, and seconded by Mr. A. W. Pollard with the addition of the request mentioned in the note to p. 129.

NEW TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

AN extraordinary General Meeting of the Bibliographical Society was held at 20 Hanover Square on Monday 18 October at 6 p.m., the President, Mr. Falconer Madan, in the chair, to consider the following resolutions, of which notice had been given in accordance with the Rules.

I.—That in Rule 6 for the words : ‘The Annual Subscription shall be One Guinea, payable in advance, and shall be due on each January 1st,’ shall be substituted the words :

‘The Annual Subscription, entitling Members to the quarterly parts of Transactions (*The Library*) and all other books issued by the Society as they appear shall be Two Guineas, payable in advance, and shall be due on each January 1st. Members elected before January 1st, 1921, may nevertheless continue to pay the original subscription, One Guinea, receiving only the quarterly parts of the Transactions, and any Supplements issued with these.’

II.—That in Rule 6 the sum of Twenty Guineas shall be substituted for Twelve Guineas as the payment for Life Membership.

III.—That in Rule 8 the words ‘Members shall be entitled to receive all the ordinary issues of the Society ; and they shall also be entitled to receive all special issues of the Society at such subscription price as may be determined by the Council’ shall be deleted.

In moving the first resolution the President reminded members that the Society had recently taken over the publication of *The Library* and that whereas the cost of print and paper, taken together, had risen about 150 per cent., members who had previously subscribed to the *Library* were now being asked to pay only an additional half-guinea (£2 2s. instead of £1 11s. 6d.) or $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. more. As explained in the circular convening the meeting the 'Supplements' mentioned in the Resolution would be short monographs, not necessarily read before the Society, exceeding the length admissible in the quarterly numbers of *The Library*, and would not be obtainable by non-members. The first of them would be 'An Annotated List of the Manuscripts of Dr John Dee, the Astrologer' by Dr. Montague Rhodes James. The permission to continue paying the original subscription of One Guinea, receiving only *The Library* and these Supplements, and, of course, retaining their rights of attending meetings, was offered to old members in order to keep the maximum number of members and avoid losing any to whom an increased subscription might at present be inconvenient; it was, however, earnestly hoped that members would consider the Society's work of sufficient importance to give it the necessary financial support.

A few questions were asked and in answer to these it was explained that subscribers of One Guinea would have the right of purchasing the other books printed by the Society, but that the prices of these would be arranged so as to give payers of the full subscription the better bargain. The Society was urgently in need of an increased income in order to print important books, some of which were already in hand.

The first Resolution was then carried unanimously as also was the second raising the life subscription from Twelve Guineas to Twenty (the smallness of this increase being dictated by the higher rate of interest now obtainable), and the third,

which strikes out from Rule 8 some words now rendered inoperative by the changes in Rule 6.

Among the works waiting to be printed are an illustrated monograph by our late President, Sir William Osler, on the earliest printed medical books, *A Bibliography of Meredith* by Mr. Maurice Buxton-Forman, and a *Dictionary of English Printers and Booksellers, 1668-1725*, by Mr. H. R. Plomer; among those in preparation are an illustrated monograph on *Colard Mansion* by Mr. Seymour de Ricci, the *Short-title Catalogue of English Books printed up to the Close of 1640*, now being edited by Mr. A. W. Pollard and Mr. G. R. Redgrave, and Dr. Greg's *Bibliography of English Plays and Masques, written before 1643 and printed before 1700*. To bring out these books without undue delays the Bibliographical Society needs an income of not far short of £1,000 a year, and it is believed that the money they may cost will be well spent.

DATE OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

The Council has directed that the Annual Meeting of the Society for the reception of the Balance Sheet and the Council's Report and for the election of Officers for the ensuing Session shall be held after the Ordinary Meeting of the Society on March 21, instead of as in recent years, before the Ordinary Meeting in January. Until 1907 Annual Meetings were held in December and the Balance Sheet made up to November 30. The change to January still left the time for the auditing, printing, and circulating of a Balance Sheet made up to December 31 inconveniently short, and continued the practice of the biennial change of Presidents taking place in the middle of a Session. By the transference of the Annual Meeting to March opportunity will be given for the Balance Sheet (to December 31),

Council's Report, and Memorandum by Mr. Winship on Bibliographical work in America to appear in *THE LIBRARY* on March 1; and the new President will be able to help in the preparation of the programme for the next session and take the chair at the beginning of it.

The following papers will be read during the remainder of the Session :—

- Dec. 20. Anthony Mundy and his Books. Miss M. St. Clare Byrne.
Jan. 17. Pepys's Spanish Books. Mr. Stephen Gaselee.
Feb. 21. The Re-appearance of the Texts of the Classics. Professor A. C. Clark.
Mar. 21. Some Early English Books on Hospitals. Sir D'Arcy Power.
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The following new members have been elected : Professor F. Aydelotte, Mr. E. K. Chambers, C.B., The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, the Marquis of Crewe, Sir George Holford, Mr. C. N. Hudson, Mr. Bache Matthews, Mr. John Murray, C.V.O., Mr. S. Savage, Mr. Laurence Slade, Miss J. Spens, Mr. Hugh Walpole, C.B.E., Mr. J. A. Williams, Mr. H. Yates Thompson.



THE ENGRAVED TITLE OF THE *THÉÂTRE FRANÇOIS*
TOURS, 1594

FOLIO IN FACSIMILE, REDUCED

NOTE ON A SERIES OF EARLY FRENCH ATLASES,
1594-1637. PRESENTED TO THE BRITISH
MUSEUM, 1920¹

By SIR H. GEORGE FORDHAM

THE discovery thirty years ago, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, of a copy of the *Théâtre François*, published at Tours in 1594 by Maurice Bouguereau, 'Imprimeur et Libraire demeurant en la rue de la Seellerie, devant La Trinité,' as he is described on the printed title-page of his atlas, prompted an inquiry into the origin of this work, and a study of the sources from which its maps were drawn,² and of the subsequent historical development of the cartography of France and its extension beyond the frontiers of that kingdom in the atlases of Jean le Clerc and his widow (*Théâtre Géographique du Royaume de France*), 1619-1631, and of Jean Boisseau (*Théâtre des Gaules*), 1642, the whole of which

¹ One of two papers read by Sir George Fordham before the Bibliographical Society on 15 November 1920.

² See : Drapeyron, Ludovic. *Le premier atlas national de France (1589-1594)*. *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, année 1890. Paris, 1890, 8vo.

Drapeyron, Ludovic. *L'évolution de notre premier atlas national sous Louis XIII*. *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, année 1890. Paris, 1890, 8vo.

Bossebœuf, L'Abbé L. A. *La Touraine et les travaux de géographie*. Tours, 1894, 8vo.

Drapeyron, Ludovic. *Notre premier atlas national et la Ménippée de Tours sous Henri IV*. Paris, 1894, 8vo.

Langlois, Ludovic. *L'atlas de Bouguereau*. *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société archéologique de Touraine*, tome XIII. Tours, 1902, 8vo.

Beaumont, Le Comte Charles de. *La carte du duché de Touraine en 1592*. *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société archéologique de Touraine*, tome XIII. Tours, 1902, 8vo.

series is founded on the plates of the *Théâtre François* of 1594, with a gradually increasing number of additional maps.

These atlases, with that of Melchior Tavernier, which also bore the title *Théâtre Géographique du Royaume de France*, and was published in Paris in 1634, constitute the whole of the material of French cartography in atlas form up to the appearance of the collected maps of Nicolas Sanson, of Abbeville (1600-1667), about 1654. From this latter publication is dated the work of the important French school of cartography of which Sanson was the founder.

I have made use of the material of study mentioned in the note at the foot of the preceding page as a basis for a full discussion of the development of interest and activity in the early production of provincial and national maps in France in a paper published in the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, no. lii, vol. xiii (1909), and reprinted, with slight revision, in *Studies in Cartobibliography*, Oxford, 1914, 8vo, under the title, 'The Cartography of the Provinces of France, 1570-1757'.

I may, perhaps, be allowed to point out, in passing, that, in my Catalogue of the County Maps of Hertfordshire¹ I have very fully examined the parallel activity of the English cartographers, from the appearance of the atlas of Christopher Saxton (1579), through the publications of John Norden (1593) and John Speed (1611), and the early illustrated editions of Camden's *Britannia* (1607, 1610, and 1637), and have carried these studies down to the end of the last century.

My own attention was drawn to the subject of the early maps of the Provinces of France published in that country through the rather accidental purchase of a copy of the *Théâtre François* in London in 1907. Subsequently I bought,

¹ *Hertfordshire Maps: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Maps of the County, 1579-1900*. Hertford, 1907. 8vo.

Supplement. Hertford, 1914. 8vo.

in Munich, a second, but less complete copy of this atlas, and, at the same time, secured two examples of different dates, of the *Théâtre Géographique du Royaume de France* of Jean le Clerc and his widow, as well as a copy of Melchior Tavernier's atlas bearing the same title.

These five atlases constitute a series which is not found, as far as I am aware, in the same completeness in any public library, or private collection except my own. Its proper and permanent resting-place seems to me to be the national collection, and it is now to pass by way of gift into the British Museum.

Some short descriptive and historical notes may be worth recording here.

The copies now known to exist of the *Théâtre François* are only six in number : one each in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale ; one at Tours ; one at Dresden, and the two in my possession. They all differ as to the full-sized general maps of France, of which there are three, copied and reduced from the maps of Guillaume Postel (1570), Petrus Plancius, and Jean Jolivet (1560) respectively. A small, half-page map of France from a plate engraved by Jodocus Hondius in 1591, after Mercator's map of 1585, is found in some copies also.

The remaining maps of various Provinces of France, fifteen in number, were derived from a variety of sources, all of which have been traced except that of the map of Brittany, the last map in the collection.

This atlas is a thin folio volume of eighty-six pages, the maps, with text on the back, making up sixty pages, and the remainder consisting of printed matter, including the title-pages, preface and a number of dedications, addresses, sonnets, acrostics, &c., some of them on single leaves. In my *Cartography of the Provinces of France, 1570-1757*, already referred to, an account of this atlas in some detail and

of the sources from which its maps were derived will be found.¹

The origin of Bouguereau's undertaking is indicated in his own Preface, in which he says : *la bonne volonté qu'ay eue d'illustrer ma Patrie, lors que ceste ville de Tours estoit en ce temps de Troubles et Guerres Civiles le reffuge des gens de bien, s'adressa à moy ung Graveur Flamand, auquel apres avoir faict Graver en Cuyvre la Charte de France, je fus lors stimulé, de continuer le Theatre François : et audict temps faict graver les autres Chartes particulieres des Provinces que voyez en ce livre, dont en ay recouvert, partie d'icelles non jamais veuës,* and in which he asks his readers to supply him with further cartographic materials from which he undertakes to add maps of the other Provinces of France to the series. He did not, however, increase the number of maps, and it was left to Jean le Clerc, nearly a quarter of a century later, to publish a more complete representation in map form of the various Provinces of France.

From the contracts between Bouguereau and his engraver, preserved in the notarial records of Tours, it has been established that the *Graveur Flamand* referred to by Bouguereau in his Preface was a certain Gabriel Tavernier, a member, no doubt, of the Tavernier family which originated in Antwerp and to which belonged the Melchior Tavernier already mentioned as a cartographer and publisher in Paris.

The date of the first issue of the *Théâtre Géographique du Royaume de France* of Jean le Clerc, who published in Paris, in the *Rue Fremental*, at the sign of the *Etoile d'Or* from at least as early as 1585, and who in 1617 was established in the *Rue Saint Jean de Latran*, at the sign of the *Sallemandre Royale*, is not known. There is some reason to suppose that this atlas first appeared in 1617, but the earliest mention of any copy is

¹ *Studies in Cartobibliography*. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1914, 8vo, at p. 128 et seq.

that found in the *Catalogue des Livres de la Bibliothèque de M. Secousse*, published on the occasion of the sale of this library in 1755 (Paris, 1755, 8vo). In this list the *Théâtre Géographique de la France, contenant les Cartes des Provinces, par le Clerc, Par. 1619, in-fol*, occurs.

In the next year an edition is known, and another was issued by Le Clerc in 1621; then in 1622 the publication is continued by his widow, with later issues of 1626 and 1631, and the final form of the atlas occurs as the *Théâtre des Gaules*, published by Jean Boisseau in 1642. The distribution of the nine copies known to me is as follows: 1620, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; 1621, University Library, Cambridge; Odsey; 1622, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; 1626, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Odsey; 1631, Bibliothèque Nationale; Musée, Angers; 1642, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It will be noticed that the British Museum possesses no copy of this atlas. Those that I am presenting are in a fine state of preservation, with title pages and printed lists of the contents. The number of maps in Le Clerc's collection, as printed in 1620, is 39, and it had grown to 75 in Boisseau's final edition of 1642.

My copies contain, in the edition of 1621, 43 maps, as enumerated in the printed list, but made up by additions to a total of 82, the whole set out in a contemporaneous manuscript table, and in that of 1626, 48 titles, including 47 plates and 49 individual maps. Both copies include good examples of a map much sought after by collectors in France, namely that entitled *L'Isle de France et lieux circonvoysins*, on which is represented pictorially the battle of Ivry (1590) and the French and Spanish armies under Henry IV, the Duke of Mayenne and Alexander of Parma, in their various movements round Paris during the great struggle between the King and the League for the possession of the capital.

Lastly I would draw attention to the copy of Melchior Tavernier's *Théâtre Géographique du Royaume de France* of

1637, complete, or nearly so, as to its contents and especially as to the title-page and list of maps, the latter being of great rarity. The title differs slightly from the text of the British Museum copy of 1634, and it appears, from a comparison of these titles, that Tavernier had moved between 1634 and 1637 from the sign of the *Rose rouge* to that of the *Sphere Royale*, both, however, *sur le Quay qui regarde la Megisserie*. This atlas, which appears to have been bound in Italy, was in rather a fragile condition in regard to many of the maps when it came into my hands, but these have been repaired throughout by an expert Cambridge map-mounter, and they are now fit to be handled without destructive effects: The collection contains a certain number of original maps by Tavernier himself, but is otherwise largely made up of maps of the Dutch and Flemish school.

I am adding a *Table des Cartes contenues en ce Livre*, containing sixty titles, together with eleven maps, being the fragments of an issue of Tavernier's *Théâtre*, discovered at Auxerre in 1907, the maps bearing dates from 1627 to as late as 1646. Melchior Tavernier the elder died in 1641, so that the atlas to which these maps belonged must have been published not earlier than five years after his death.

I may notice that the Bibliothèque Nationale does not, apparently, possess anything better of Tavernier's work than a very miscellaneous volume without title containing 104 maps, many of them attributable to this cartographic publisher. I do not know of any other issues of this atlas than the three referred to above (1634, 1637, and *circa* 1646).

This little series, now to be safely housed in the national collection, is in itself sufficiently representative and even exhaustive of the art of the period as applied to national cartography in France, prior, as I have already noticed, to the advent of Nicolas Sanson, and the foundation of his school of French cartography, further developed, after his death, by his

sons, and their collaborators and successors the Jaillot family, and finally by the Roberts, to whom the materials gradually amassed descended in the early part of the eighteenth century. I hope it may be found that, with the additions now made, the British Museum will contain the best and most complete collection of the early French atlases in the world.

I exhibit here the five atlases and the fragments I have now briefly noticed, and to carry the matter a little further for the present purpose, have added a copy, from my collection, of Sanson's atlas of 1658 (*Cartes Generales de toutes les Parties du Monde, ou les Empires, Monarchies, Republiques, Estats, Peuples, Etc. de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, de l'Europe, et de l'Amerique, tant Anciens que Nouveaux, sont exactement remarqués, et distingués suivant leur estendue*), and one of the first volume of the great atlas published by the Jaillots, and, as in this case, reissued by Pierre Mortier, at Amsterdam¹ (*Atlas Nouveau*, 2 vols., 1696). The latter is, as regards preservation and colouring, the finest copy I have seen.

In taking over the atlases for submission to the Trustees at their next meeting, Mr. de Villiers, the Assistant Keeper in charge of maps at the British Museum, expressed his delight at the prospect of such an acquisition. Sir George Fordham had made the subject of French cartography completely his own, had devoted years of study to it and much patience to the discovery and acquisition of the maps themselves. It was a subject well worthy of research. French cartographers were second only to those of the Netherlands in number and

¹ See Fordham, Sir H. G., *Liste alphabétique des Plans et Vues de Villes, Citadelles et Forteresses qui se trouvent dans le Grand Atlas de Mortier, édition d'Amsterdam de 1696. Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, année 1610. Paris, 1911, 8vo.

output ; in work they rivalled and often excelled them ; in accuracy they were far superior.

According to the speaker the cultivation of the study of geography, and especially of cartography, was a thankless task. Nowhere, until 1914, was geography so neglected as in this world-wide empire. Hakluyt, Purchas, Churchill, and others were merely recorders of foreign activity. If Holland, France, and Italy produced the finest world-atlases of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries it was the atlas made in Germany that had a preponderance in the sales of the nineteenth and twentieth. It was now our duty to encourage a more intimate acquaintance with the geography of all those countries we hold by the right of discovery, exploration, and conquest, and men like Sir George Fordham, who fostered the love of cartography, the twin sister of geography, deserved to be regarded as public benefactors.

A facsimile of the signature of Maurice Bouguereau, who is known as having published at Tours during the period 1588-1596, is given in *Les Origines de l'Imprimerie à Tours* (1467-1550) by Dr. E. Giraudet. Tours, 1881, 8vo.

THE FIRST EDITION OF BEN JONSON'S
'EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOUR'

By W. W. GREG

IT has long been a matter of general knowledge that there are two editions of *Every Man out of his Humour* dated 1600, one printed for William Holme, the other for Nicholas Linge, and I think it has been generally recognized that of these the Holme quarto is the earlier. So far as I know at present the only copies of this are in the Bodleian and Dyce libraries: the Linge quarto is much commoner, being also found in the British Museum (C. 57. c. 22) and several other collections. Both editions were reprinted by Professor W. Bang and myself in the *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas*, Louvain, 1907. In 1908 the British Museum purchased a copy of the play with Holme's imprint and the date 1600 (C. 34. i. 29), presumably in the belief that it belonged to the edition already represented at Bodley and South Kensington. In fact it does not; the Museum had by a fortunate accident acquired a copy—poor it is true—of the hitherto unsuspected first edition!

For twelve years the volume has stood on the shelves without its importance being commonly realized. I see from my notes that in August 1914 I examined and identified it, but the date will explain not only why I did not publish the fact but how I came indeed to lose all recollection of it, and it was not till I resumed work on dramatic bibliography a few weeks ago that I made the discovery afresh.

The Museum quarto differs from those previously known

in having the collation A-R instead of A-Q only. The title-page agrees closely with the other bearing Holme's name, but is readily distinguished by the fact that instead of Peter Short's device (with the initials P. S. and the motto 'Et vsque ad nubes veritas tua': no. 278 in Dr. McKerrow's list) it has an oblong ornament (measuring 25 × 52 mm.) of two winged satyr-like figures supporting a vase of flowers. The copy, I have said, is a poor one: the edge of the title-leaf has been repaired, H₃ is mutilated and a portion of the text on each page lost, A₁ which was presumably blank is missing, the whole is not over clean, and worst of all I am afraid that two leaves, R₃-4, are wanting at the end. It is true that the text of the play ends with the word 'Finis' on R₂^b, and it would be quite possible to suppose that the alternative ending, which fills a further three pages in the other editions was an afterthought and did not appear in the first. But unfortunately, although the chain marks on R₁ and R₂ correspond very satisfactorily, there is on one leaf a portion of a water-mark of which no trace appears on the other, and while one cannot speak with confidence, it seems probable that the two leaves do not belong together, and that consequently R must originally have been a full sheet of four leaves. I should add that though I have spoken of the volume as a quarto, strictly speaking only signatures H, P, Q, R in the Museum

BRITISH MUSEUM. QUARTO, C1^b

Carl. O good words, good words, a well-timberd fellow, he would ha' made a good columnne and he had been thought on when the house was a building. O art thou *Enter boy with*
come? well said: giue me; boy, fill, so: *a glasse.*
here's a cup of wine sparkles like a diamond. Gentlewomen,
(I am sworne to put them in first) and Gentlemen, a round, in
place of a bad Prologue, I drinke this good draught to your
health here, Canarie, the verie *Elixir* and spirit of *(He drinks.)*
wine: this is that our Poet calls Castalian liquor, whē he comes
abroad (now and then) once in a fortnight, and makes a good

copy are of this format, the rest being of that puzzling size (it might perhaps be called 'bastard quarto') which is commonly folded in fours, and agrees in size and shape with a normal quarto, but according to wire and water marks should be an octavo.

But though in state of preservation the Museum quarto (if for convenience I may continue to give it this name) leaves something to be desired, it nevertheless possesses unique interest as being the only copy so far recorded of what is presumably the first edition, and unquestionably an earlier edition than any hitherto described. This appears from a number of points. It is suggested to begin with by the fact that it is better printed than either of its rivals, and confirmed by its running into seventeen sheets whereas they are confined to sixteen. Conclusive bibliographical proof of its precedence is afforded by the parallel passages printed at the foot of these pages, in which it will be observed that the quite unreasonable space left for the stage directions in the Bodley-Dyce edition results from the compositor having made the endings of the short lines agree with the Museum edition. Further evidence will also be found in the manner in which the Bodley-Dyce edition was set up, a subject upon which it may be worth while to say a few words.

The first edition appears to have been rapidly exhausted,

BODLEY-DYCE QUARTO, B4^a

Carl. O good wordes, good wordes, a well-timberde fellow, hee woulde ha'made a good colunne and he had been thought on when the houle was a building. O art thou *Enter Boy with*
come? wel sayd: giue mee; Boy, fil, so: *a glasse.*
here's a cup of wine sparkles like a Diamonde. Gentlewomen (I am sworne to put them in first) and Gentlemen, a round, in place of a bad prologue, I drink this good draught to your health here, Canarie, the verie *Elixir* and Spirit of *(He drinks.)*
wine: this is that our Poet calles Castalian liquor, when hee comes abroad (nowe and then) once in a fortnight, and makes a good Meale

for there are signs of haste in the production of the second. The copy was divided between two compositors and the play being a long one it was determined to save expense by reducing by one the number of the sheets. The compositors worked with slightly different founts of type and we find A setting up the first half, A-H, and B the second half, I-Q, of the new edition. The first edition, containing seventeen sheets, when it was distributed to the two compositors, was divided in the middle of sheet I, I 1-2 falling to A's share, and I 3-4 to B's. Each then had to save two leaves, or four pages, in resetting. But in the original edition one leaf (A1) or two pages were blank at the beginning, and though we do not know for certain it is possible that one page (R4^b) was blank at the end. It follows that compositor A began by saving two pages straight away by placing the title on A1, and so in effect only had to compress to the extent of two pages, while compositor B had to save at least three pages by closer setting. Having saved his two initial pages, A could, of course, gain nothing over the title-page and 'The names of the actors' that together occupied the next leaf. But he got to work in earnest on the descriptive 'Characters' that follow, compressing the four pages of the original into three. He was thus free to begin the text on A3^b instead of B1 and it remained to save one page only out of a total of 60. In order to do this he adopted a page of 37 lines in place of the 36 of the original, with the result that by the end of his sheet E (F2^b of the original) he had saved exactly 36 lines, or one page of the original, and had come into agreement with his copy. He now quietly dropped his extra line, reducing his page to 36, and followed the original page for page to the end of his section. Compositor B began with I3^a of the original, making it I1^a of his reprint. But, though he had to save no less than three pages of text on a total of 67, he did not lengthen his page as A had done. I suspect that the reason for this may

have been that the two pages forming the first opening of his section, I₃^b and I₄^a, were already of 37 lines in the original, and that he failed to notice that they were exceptional: 38 lines would probably have made the page inconveniently long. But there were plenty of other opportunities of saving, for the original compositor had put plenty of lead in headings and directions and much of this B was able to omit, besides occasionally tucking in lines that had previously been turned over. By these means he had saved one page by the end of N₂^a (which corresponded with the foot of his M₃^b), two by the end of O₄^a (= O₁^a), and three by the end of R₁^b (= Q₂^a). The next two pages, R₂^a and R₂^b, he reproduced exactly on Q₂^b and Q₃^a, the second being not quite full. Whether his remaining three pages are reproduced page for page we cannot at present tell. The first is in larger type, which does not suggest that he was pressed for space: on the other hand on the last, which is quite full, there are no leads separating the text from the stage direction and 'Gre^x' that follow, so that it is quite possible that the original compositor ran over on to his fourth and last page.

The reprint is astonishingly exact. In half a dozen pages compared in different parts I have found no variation of reading whatever, and even minor differences of spelling, &c. are rare. There are a few wrong founts, a wrong word division, and a failure to indent. In line 4399¹ (the last speech of the revised ending) the first edition, like its successors, reads:

That (spight of pitie) betray themselves,
where I imagine 'pitie' (eds. 2, 3 'pittie') to be a misprint for 'pietie' (the passage is not in the folio: Gifford printed 'pity, do' silently).

Compositor A began working with minute accuracy, but grew slightly less careful as he proceeded; B is on the whole even more faithful. A curious feature of the first edition is a sprinkling

¹ According to the numbering in the *Materialien* edition.

of instances in which 'u' and 'v' and 'i' and 'j' are used according to the modern and not the old convention. These anomalies were normalized by A but retained by B. It is certainly a complete surprise to me to find Elizabethan compositors working with such fidelity as this.

What I have said should leave no doubt as to the priority of the Museum over the Bodley-Dyce quarto. Nor is there any question of that of Holme's second over Linge's. The fact that these agree page for page of course makes it impossible that they should be independent reprints of the first edition. Similarly the fact that in every case in which their readings differ Holme's second agrees with his first obviously proves that it was not printed from Linge's. There are just sixty such instances and of these exactly two-thirds are apostrophied contractions which are expanded in Linge's edition, only to be contracted again, in almost every case, in the folio of 1616. I quote a few instances :

<i>Line.</i>	<i>Holme 1.</i>	<i>Holme 2.</i>	<i>Linge.</i>	<i>Folio.</i>
640	bankrupts	bankrupts	Bankroutes	bankrupts
645	placable	placable	peaceable	placable
800	one and twentieth	one and twentieth	[omits]	one and tvventieth
815	I'not	I'not	Is not	I' not
842	in paper	in paper	in a paper	in paper
979	runs	runnes	turnes	runs
1180	might see	might see	might but see	might see
1259	innated	innated	inward	innated
1286	rarefi'd	rarefi'd	ratifide	rarefi'd
1325, 1333	it's	it's	it is	it's
1339	'tis	'tis	it is	'tis
2077	pr'y thee	pr'y thee	pray thee	pr'y thee
3138	cas'ly	cas'ly	easily	easily

I may add that most of the small points of spelling in which Holme's second edition differs from his first reappear in that of Linge. Only in one case out of every five or six in the passages I have collated does Linge's print return, evidently by

accident, to the original spelling. The following are the most noteworthy of both classes :

<i>Line.</i>	<i>Holme 1.</i>	<i>Holme 2.</i>	<i>Linge.</i>	<i>Folio.</i>
132	publicke	publike	publike	publicke
181	furie	fury	fury	fury
182	bodie	body	body	body
196	Cheefely	Chiefely	Chiefely	Chiefly
444	Gentlewomen,	Gentlewomen	Gentlewomen	Gentlewomen
2231	<i>moodie</i>	<i>moody</i>	<i>moody</i>	<i>moody</i>
2232	<i>Heauen</i>	<i>beauen</i>	<i>beauen</i>	<i>beauen</i>
2233	Let's	Lets	Lets	let's
2246	Sbloud	S'bloud	S'bloud	Sbloud
2250	ask't	askt	askt	ask't
2257	mou'd	moou'd	moou'd	mou'd
2270	Looke you	Lookey ou	Looke y ou	Looke you
4386	strange	straunge	straunge	[<i>passage omitted</i>]
443	well . . . fill	wel . . . fil	well . . . fill	well . . . fill
446	Prologue	prologue	Prologue	prologue
448	calls	calles	cals	calls
2204	peece	piece	peece	peece

(and six instances of the addition or omission of final -e)

Whether all these editions really appeared in 1600 is open to doubt. The play was duly entered to Holme in the Stationers' Register on 8 April 1600. Little is known of Holme, who worked partly at Chester and only published a few books in London. He only made one transfer of a single book, a biblical dialogue, and that to J. Helme : nothing is known as to what became of his rights after his disappearance in 1615. But there is a transfer of our play, dated 28 April 1638, to Richard Bishop (the printer of the 1640 folio) from John Smethwick, who must therefore have claimed some rights in the play, and Smethwick is known to have acquired Linge's rights on his retirement in 1607, though our play is not mentioned as among the books transferred on 19 November that year. It looks therefore as though Linge's rights, however acquired, were recognized, and if his edition really appeared in 1600 we may

presume that he had come to some private arrangement with Holme. At the same time there is, I think, something a little suspicious about the extreme brevity of the imprint: 'London, Printed for Nicholas Linge, 1600', which is unpleasantly suggestive of Pavier's frauds in 1619. Linge's device, which appears on the title-page, is not known in any book with a later date than 1607, but if we suppose that it passed in that year along with other property to John Smethwick, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he used it for ventures of doubtful honesty, for his reputation at the beginning of his career was not of the best. Be this as it may, his ownership was clearly recognized in 1616, when Holme was no longer in business, and William Stansby, printing the first folio of Jonson's 'Works', placed Smethwick's name on the special title-page of *Every Man out of his Humour*.

Holme's second edition was, of course, printed by Peter Short, whose device appears on the title-page. The ornament in his first edition ought to enable the printer of this likewise to be identified, but I have not yet succeeded in doing so.

AN APOLOGY OF PRIVATE MASS, 1562

By A. ESDAILE

AT the Britwell sale of Early English Theological Books in May this year the British Museum bought a copy (no. 123) of *An Apology of Private Mass*, published by Thomas Cooper with his anonymous answer to it in 1562, which adds a third title-page to the two already found in Museum copies. An examination of the three reveals a curious little bibliographical episode, which may be worth putting on record.

First let us set out the titles, which read as follows :

I. (B.M., 3932. aa. 15 ; Bodl., C. 322 Linc. ; Sion Coll., arc. A. 69. 2. W. 11 (2) ; Sayle, no. 1246 ; Herbert, ii. 875 ; Dibdin, iv. 544, repeats Herbert.)

An Apologie | of priuate Masse, spred a | broade in writing without name | of
the authour : as it seemeth, a-| gainst the offer and protestacion | made in
certayne Sermons by | the reuerent father Bisshop of | Salsburie : with an
answer to the same Apologie, set foorth | for the maintenance and | defence of
the | trueth. || Perused and allowed, by the reuerent | father in God Edmonde
Bisshop | of London, accordynge to the | order appointed in the | Queenes
maiestes | Iniunctions. || Londini. | Mens. Nouemb. | 1562.

[Verso of title blank.]

II. (Heber-Britwell-B.M.)

A Lewde Apo- | logie of pryuate Masse, sedyci-| ously spred abroade in
wrytinge | without name of the authour : | as it seemeth, against the offer | and
protestacion made in cer-| taine Sermons by the re-| uerend father Bishop | of
Salesburie : || ¶ With a learned and godly answeere to the same Apo-| logie,
set foorth for the | maintenance and | defence of the | trueth. || Londini. |
Mens. Nouemb. | 1562.

[Verso of title blank.]

III. (B.M., C. 12. c. 7 ; Sayle, no. 1245.)

An Apologie | of priuate Masse sedici-| ously spredde abroade in wri-| tyng
without name of the au-| thour : as it semeth, against | the offer and protesta-
cion | made in certain sermons | by the reuerende fa-| ther Byshop of | Sales-

burie. || With an answer and confu= tacion of the same, set forth | for the
defence and | maintenance of | the trueth. ||| Londini. | Mense Nouemb. | 1562.

[Verso of title:] 'To the Reader. | IF it had not been knowen before, that no=
thing coulede be so sincerely done, but that | malice woulde peruerte it to an euill
pur= pose : It might have ben sufficiently learned | by the late publyshing of
this little boke. For | of honest meanyng I placed this Apologie by | it selfe, to
this ende, that it might be seene in | the whole discourse as it was written . . . |
. . . | . . . | . . . | . . . But there hath not lacked lewdly dispo= sed mindes,
whiche . . . | . . . haue | quite seperated the confutaciõ from the Apo= logie,
and sendyng it abroade vnto their frin= des, have said, that it was now pub=
lished in de= fence of their masse, by the alowance of the re= uerend father in
god bishop of London . . .

The distinctive points of these titles may be summarized as :

I. Apology, spread abroad, with an answer. [Licence ; verso blank.]

II. Lewd Apology, seditiously spread abroad, with a learned and godly answer. [No licence ; verso blank.]

III. Apology, seditiously spread abroad, with an answer. [No licence ; 'To the Reader' on verso.]

Except for the first title-page there is no apparent difference in the sheets of the three copies.

Colophon (V 7^b): ¶ Imprinted at London in | Fleetestreete, by Thomas | Powell.

Octavo. A-V⁸. The 'Answer' has a separate title-page (D8).

Now what is the order in which these titles were issued ? Both the Museum Catalogue—under JEWEL (John)—and Mr. Sayle have treated III as earlier than I. I hope to be able to show that the true order is that in which they are given above.

In the first place III cannot possibly be the original title, as it is printed on a 16° leaf, the rest of the sheet being, like the others, in eights. Nor can II ; for, though printed on an 8° leaf, it is visibly inserted in the Britwell copy, the only one I know of. Unfortunately I has been mounted in the Museum copy, but the paper appears to be that of the rest of the book. (Watermarks, as usual in octavos, have been shorn away and fail us.) But we do not need the evidence thus lost in re-

binding, as the presence of the licence in this title only makes it fairly clear, if we read the address on the verso of III, that this must be the issue there referred to, that is the first.

So far our correction of the catalogues has been a fairly obvious one. Indeed it is probable that those responsible for them did not read the Address on the verso of III, for if they had they could hardly have gone wrong. But the order of the two later titles is not so clear. Why were two needed? It is difficult to arrive at any certainty, but the order here suggested may be explained in some such way as this.

When news of the misuse of the licence reached the publisher, or, more probably, the Bishop of London's licencer, he at once drew up a much more strongly worded title (in fact our II), in which not only is the licence omitted, but 'An Apologie' appears as 'A Lewde Apologie', with the added prominence of Roman capitals in an otherwise Black-Letter title, 'spred abroad' becomes 'sedyciously spred abroad', and the Answer is now 'a learned and godly answer', and has moreover a paragraph all to itself, so that it cannot be overlooked. The last phrase makes it clear that this title cannot have been drawn up by Cooper himself, whose character is one of the few among the controversialists of that age that are distinguished by modesty and moderation.

We may suppose that it then occurred, or was suggested, to the licencer or whoever the anonymous controller of the press may have been, that this wording was not enough to catch up and suppress the fraud; so he persuaded Cooper to write a démenti in the shape of his address 'To the Reader', the wording of which is obviously that of the 'Answer's' original author, and then had yet a third title-page (our III) printed to carry it.

We have now to explain why the new title should have had the wording weakened; yet not so much as to be as colourless as the first; why 'lewde' disappears, but 'sedyciously' remains.

At first sight II seemed to be the last of the series, on the top of a crescendo of vituperation ; but to explain why the address 'To the Reader' should, when once printed, have been withdrawn would be a far harder feat than that which confronts the upholder of the present theory. Happily to make it probable we have only to assume that one controversialist of the Reformation had charity towards his opponents under great provocation. On our hypothesis the strong wording of II was inserted not only by another hand but without Cooper's knowledge ; when he was asked to provide the address for the third title he took the opportunity to cut out the word 'lewde' as applied to his opponent (who after all may not have been responsible for the fraud—in the Address he uses it of the real culprit), and also 'learned and godly' as applied to his own work.

It should be added that Ames (p. 305) describes what is probably, as Herbert suggested, another edition, though also dated November 1562. I do not know of a copy. The title is not in Ames's collection at the Museum. Ames gives it as in twelves, and quotes with apparent exactitude a title differing from all ours.

This wording is practically that of III, but it contains the licence, shortened by what we may take to be a line, probably to allow the 'Answer' a clear paragraph, as in II and III. Unfortunately Ames does not tell us whether the verso bears the address 'To the Reader' ; but we may provisionally surmise that when Powell reprinted the book the licencer thought that the licence might safely be restored to the title-page.

The amusing part of the affair to us is that the author of the trick, in order to separate the 'Apology' from the 'Answer', was forced to mutilate quire D, on the last leaf of which the latter opens. Had his victims been bibliographers they would not have been so readily deceived as we are assured they were.

SOME BOOKS BY SIR SAMUEL MORLAND

By GILBERT R. REDGRAVE

WHEN consulting the early volumes of the Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers, I found that a member had presented to their Library, as far back as 1844, a copy of Morland's little book, describing 'Two Arithmetick Instruments', as a work of great interest and merit. The book in question, given by Mr. John Farey and briefly described by him, is unfortunately not perfect, as it lacks the engraved portrait of the Author, while three of the plates, which were wanting, have been added in facsimile, as tracings. I have, however, among my books a perfect copy of this rare treatise, which possesses two title-pages; the one giving the name of Moses Pitt as the printer, dated 1673, and the other bearing date a year earlier, with no printer's name.

On the 1672 title-page the invention is described as 'A new and most useful instrument for addition and subtraction of pounds, shillings, pence, and farthings. Without charging the memory, disturbing the mind, or exposing the operator to any uncertainty: which no method heretofore published, can justly pretend to', and it is said to be 'Invented and Presented to His most Excellent Majesty Charles II. King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. 1666'. On page 8 of the little octavo we read of '*Machina nova cyclologica pro multiplicatione*. Or, a new multiplying instrument:' and as a matter of fact there were two distinct instruments, which could be employed on working the first four rules of Arithmetic by the use of a series of geared wheels. Professor A. de Morgan, in his 'Arithmetical Books', p. 48, says of this work—'A very miscellaneous book, embodying computation, some of Euclid, tables for Easter, description of the calculating machine, &c.'

Admirers of Pepys will not fail to remember that he alludes in his 'Diary' on several occasions to Morland, and on 14 March 1668, in speaking of a dinner party, at which he entertained Lord Hinchinbroke and his lady, he tells us—'and there among other things my Lord had Sir Samuel Morland's late invention for casting up sums of £ s. d., which is very pretty but not very useful.'

One of these instruments, the forerunner of the countless calculating machines now on the market, is to be seen in the Science Museum at South Kensington. The inventor made use of a system which had already been employed by Blaise Pascal, in 1642, but there is no reason to think that he was indebted to the Frenchman for his ideas.

In another book by Morland, he treats of 'The Doctrine of Interest both Simple and Compound'. This is also a small octavo, and was 'humbly presented to his most Sacred Majesty, Charles II.' in 1679. My copy has a beautiful binding, which I attribute to Saml. Mearne, as the design consists of compartments, enclosed by the 'Chippendale' scroll, as used by him. The ends of the scrolls are filled up with strings of gold dots, and silver has been applied extensively in painting some of the leaves and petals. The characteristic flower-tool of four petals, often used by this binder, is likewise freely employed. I believe my book to be the dedication copy to the King, for it differs from ordinary copies, in that the number of lines in the specially prepared title-page has been reduced, in order to enable 'Charles II' to be inserted in large red capitals.

It may be well, before dealing with certain other writings of this prolific author, to glance at his career, which, besides containing many features of special interest, will show why he was in such high favour with his Sovereign. Samuel Morland was born in 1625 at Sulhampsted Bannister, Berks., of which place his father was the rector. After passing through

Winchester school, he entered Magdalene College, Cambridge, as a sizar in 1644, and in 1649 he became a fellow of that college. Many details of his life will be found in a MS. autobiography, preserved in the Lambeth Palace library. He was at first a staunch Parliamentary, and went in 1653 on an embassy, in Whitlocke's retinue, to the Queen of Sweden, to negotiate for an alliance offensive and defensive with that country. On his return home he became assistant to secretary Thurloe, and was sent by Cromwell in 1655 to the Duke of Savoy; to remonstrate with him on the cruelties inflicted in the name of religion on the sect of the Waldenses or Vaudois. While engaged on this mission, he resided for about a year in Geneva, and assisted in the distribution of the fund subscribed by the charitable in England for the relief of the Waldenses.

In August 1655 he was able to announce that the Duke, at the request of the King of France, had granted an amnesty to the oppressed Waldenses and had conferred upon them their ancient privileges. He returned to England in 1656 with a large collection of writings relating to the History of that 'poor distressed' people, and, after receiving the thanks of a Select Committee, occupied himself with his important work entitled *The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont*. He styles himself on the title-page 'His Highness Commissioner Extraordinary for the affairs of the said Valleys'. This folio volume was printed by Henry Hills, one of His Highness's Printers, for Adoniram Byfield, and are to be sold at the Three Bibles in Cornhill, next to Popes-head Alley, 1658. The superb 'Huth' copy of this book is now in my possession, with the portrait of the author, painted by Lely and engraved by P. Lombart, as the frontispiece. It is in many ways a notable volume, with its highly flattering Epistle Dedicatory to 'His most Serene Highness, Oliver, By the Grace of God, Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.' Very few copies will, however, be found with this dedication,

as Morland, in later years, tried as far as possible to remove and destroy this 'Epistle' from all the volumes upon which he could lay his hands.

His accession to the King's party was on this wise—It would seem that on a certain occasion Cromwell came to confer with Thurloe respecting a plot to invite Charles II and his brother to England, to meet his partisans; the intention being to kill the brothers as soon as they disembarked on the Sussex coast. Cromwell suddenly became aware of the presence, behind a screen, of Morland, and drew a poniard to put him to death, but Thurloe, believing him to be asleep, as he feigned to be, pleaded for his life, and the Protector spared him. This incident made such a deep impression upon Morland that he resolved to go to Breda and warn the exiled king. For the important service thus rendered he received his baronetcy at the Restoration, and was in high favour with Charles II. He was created a baronet on 18 July 1660, and became a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, but it was not until 1681 that he was appointed 'Magister mechanicorum' to the King.

It will not be necessary here to follow all the details of his career, but he was undoubtedly a most distinguished inventor as well as a writer of many books of importance. We owe to him the speaking trumpet, which, in a descriptive volume, published in 1671, in folio, is styled 'Tuba stentorophonica', and is said to be 'an instrument of excellent use as well at sea as at land'. One of these trumpets made by Morland is still preserved at Cambridge. He claimed also the invention of the fire engine, and he undoubtedly was far ahead of his time in estimating the value of steam for use as a motive power. He was able to assert that water occupied about 2,000 times its volume when expanded into vapour, which fact, at a much later date, was ascertained to be correct, and he founded some important hydraulic engines on this discovery. He was sent to France by Charles II to advise the French Monarch on the

question of water-supply, in 1682, and he wrote a book on this subject, dedicated to the king of France, published in Paris, in 1685.

Mr. Prosser of the Patent Office found in the Cornwallis Collection at Lambeth a quarto tract, dated 1689, entitled *The Poor Man's Dyal with an instrument to set it. Made applicable to any place in England, Scotland, Ireland, etc.* As this tract appeared to be unique, he reproduced it in facsimile in 1886, and it contains an account of the instrument, devised by Sir Samuel Morland to serve as a sundial.

In his last days poor Morland fell upon evil times, and became wholly blind. Evelyn, in his diary, under date of 25 October 1695, gives a glimpse of him in this condition on the occasion of a visit, and calls it 'a mortifying sight'. Only two months later, on 30 December 1695, Samuel Morland died in his house at Hammersmith. He was four times married, but divorced his fourth wife, who was of low origin and bad character, in July 1686/7.

GENERAL RUSH C. HAWKINS

By ALFRED W. POLLARD

ON Sunday, 24 October, General Rush Christopher Hawkins, the oldest member of the Bibliographical Society and doyen of incunabulists, was knocked down by a motor car while crossing the road opposite his house in Fifth Avenue, New York, and died the next morning in hospital. Born at Pomfret, Vermont, on 14 September 1831 he was in his ninetieth year at the time of his death, and had bought his first fifteener in 1855, sixty-five years ago. When a boy of fifteen he enlisted in the United States army and served in the Mexican war. At twenty he became a lawyer and simultaneously began attending book sales, buying chiefly American history and Elizabethan drama. The fifteener he bought in 1855 (at a shop in Nassau Street) was a copy of the *Regulae Cancellariae*, or Rules of the papal chancery, of Pope Innocent VIII, which had once belonged to the monastery of SS. Ulrich and Afra at Augsburg. The Rules were promulgated on 13 September 1484; save that it must be later than this, the book gave no hint as to where, when, or by whom it was printed. According to the General, 'the solving of these questions became the one absorbing 'occupation of that particular period' of his life, leading him gradually to discover Panzer and discover Hain (the book is Hain *9217), and finally 'to infer that the little volume 'came from the press of Stephanus Plannck, the printer at 'Rome who in 1493 first issued the letters of Columbus 'announcing his discovery of America'. The inference was almost certainly wrong, but the hunt had fixed the young

lawyer's destiny as a collector, and he became fired with an ambition to obtain a copy of the first book printed at each of the 238 places in which presses were set up in the fifteenth century, or if the first book could not be obtained to acquire at least some specimen of the typography of that particular place. Progress was slow, for fifteeners did not abound in New York sixty years ago, but relations were established with some European booksellers, and his marriage to Annmary Brown (granddaughter of the Nicholas Brown to whom the Brown University at Providence, R.I., owes its name), in June 1860, did not interrupt book-buying. But in 1861 came the Civil War, and leaving wife and books Hawkins formed a regiment, the Ninth New York Volunteers, of which he became Colonel, and subsequently added to this another of Loyal Troops from North Carolina. Friends of his have told me that he speedily gained a reputation as one of the bravest, handsomest, and most insubordinate officers in the Northern Army, and he told me himself that he was also reputed to be its hardest swearer, but of this more anon.

In the course of the war he was wounded and became a Brigadier-General. When it was over he resumed legal practice, and I have read a story that he obtained a new reputation for his extreme success in collecting what were regarded as the bad debts of a large commercial house in New York which had itself failed. His methods were rather military than legal, but military on the social lines of peace. 'It was the women who helped me,' he is credited with saying; 'when I reached a town where there was a debtor, I went to his house, got acquainted with the family, talked to his wife and sang with the girls, and they made the head of the family pay up, whether he wanted to or not.'¹

¹ I take this story from a cutting from the *Providence Journal* kindly sent me by Mr. North, and I have good reason for believing that the writer heard it from the General himself.

There is some use in having been a dashing young general, and the fee paid for his services was of an amount which 'staggered' him. But he probably went debt-collecting in pursuit of the honourable American ideal that every grown man must have a business rather than from need of money, and from 1865 onwards his wife's delicate health and his own inclinations led him to spend two-fifths of his time in Europe.

It is easier, I believe, to escape biographers in the United States than it is in England, but I hope very much that at least a full-length sketch of General Hawkins may be put in print. My object here is to offer a little tribute of affection to him as I knew him in his old age, and I must pass lightly over forty years of his prime. During this period he fulfilled his early ambition and got together a really remarkable collection of 'books of the first printers', more representative, on a small scale, than any other collection in the world save that at the British Museum, and mostly in very fine copies. Some stories of how the books were acquired are told by the General himself in his introduction ('About the Collecting') to the *Catalogue of Books mostly from the presses of the First Printers showing the progress of printing with movable metal types through the second half of the Fifteenth Century* which I had the honour of compiling for him. The General was a frequent visitor to the British Museum, where his book on the *First Books and Printers of the Fifteenth Century* procured him a hearty welcome from successive Keepers of Printed Books. As soon as he found out Robert Proctor he naturally went mostly to him, and Proctor, who was always gentleness itself to old people, was very kind to him, though when two such positive persons got together there must often have been a risk of explosions. When Proctor met his death and I took up his work, as best I could, the General came more frequently to me, and after a little while began asking me to recommend him some one who would catalogue his collection

My recommendations were not received favourably, and at last the old man (he was already 77) told me he wanted me to come myself. I must already have been very fond of him, as the ease with which he persuaded my unadventurous self to carry over half of my 1908 holidays to 1909, cross the Atlantic (I am a very bad sailor) and locate myself for six weeks of furious work in Providence, where I did not know a soul, still surprises me when I think of it.

Three mornings in Providence will always remain in my memory. The first was on the day after I had arrived, late in the evening. I met him in the street as I sallied out, and he showed me the University Library and the John Carter Brown Library (whose then librarian, Mr. G. P. Winship, became my good angel for the rest of my stay) and finally took me to a not very large building with a classic front and fine doors. As we entered there was a pleasant working room on the left and a similar room on the right, in which were exhibited relics of the Hawkins family, including the General's baby shoes and sword. Then came a large room with glass cases all round it, in which were arranged some 450 fifteenth-century books, all opened so as to show their print, and marshalled according to their countries, cities, and printers, on Henry Bradshaw's plan. The copies, as I have said, were nearly all of them clean and large, and though I have seen many exhibitions of printed books and arranged not a few myself, I have never seen any other so effective in its compact impression of wealth. There was the spirit of fifteenth-century typography, and to have acquired such books and carried out such an arrangement of them gives General Hawkins quite a unique place among collectors.

More was to follow that morning. From the Incunabula room I passed into one of modern pictures and then into another of old ones. Probably some of these were copies and others may have been assigned to greater masters than

were really responsible for them. But the pictures impressed me almost as much as the printed books. At last the General motioned me to go to a bronze door which had glass let into its upper half. When I looked I saw two resting places, one already occupied by the body of his wife, the other waiting for his own, which now lies beside hers. The building with its classic front, its family relics, its wonderful show of incunabula and its fine pictures, was a mausoleum, and I felt as if some early sixteenth-century pope had taken me to see the tomb which a great sculptor was fashioning for him.

The 'Annmary Brown Memorial' at Providence is only open on certain days in the week. On others I had it to myself and grew to like working there. That helped at a critical moment. I was not the first student of old books whom the General had asked to catalogue his collection. Other attempts had ended in explosions. After some little time an explosion seemed imminent. I was found heterodox on the subject of Gutenberg's share in the invention of printing (a thorny enough subject), and as time was precious, the General suggested that we should meet at the Memorial the next Sunday morning and talk it out. When I arrived I found the old man sitting with a large volume of newspaper cuttings in front of him. He was under the impression (it is strange, but I believe he was wrong) that it was the anniversary of his wife's death, and these were the obituary notices of her which he was reading. We were together from ten in the morning till six, and somehow or other we never got on to Gutenberg at all, but the General talked about his wife and his own doings, and I only wish I could remember his talk more clearly. Instead of a storm it was one of the most beautiful days I have ever had.

On the third of my three days there was a storm and a mighty one, but I came in for a peaceful and humorous

after-effect. The General had looked in at the Memorial to tell me he was off for a few days to New York. In less than an hour he was back, ten years older, pale and utterly spent. After my first exclamation I let him rest, and bit by bit the story came out of how the secretary of his club had offered to see the General's portmanteau on board the train, how the General had waited at the station and no portmanteau arrived, and how he had then gone round to the club and told the secretary 'exactly what' he 'thought of him as an executive officer', with prostrating results to himself. He did not repeat what he had said, but the remembrance seemed satisfactory, and suggested to him to tell me how he got the reputation of being the hardest swearer in the United States Army. He was in command of three regiments (I think it was at the battle of Fredericksburg), which were being held in reserve, two of them of seasoned troops, the third recently raised, or as he called it 'green'. When the time came, he sent one of his staff to bid them advance; the veterans began coming on all right, but the green regiment no sooner got up out of cover than it sat down again, and the veterans had to wait. A second staff-officer was sent with the same result. Then the General went himself, and after some remarks from him there was no more sitting down. But the green regiment had been raised in North Carolina, where the General had a pious aunt, and when the men sent home their versions of his observations the pious aunt had prayer-meetings held for him all over the State, and his reputation as a hard swearer became fixed. I don't think he minded it, though he was much too courteous and dignified a gentleman to swear except when his blood was up. Certainly after telling that story he felt much better.

I have often thought that in learning to know General Hawkins I was learning at the same time to know a man of

much greater reputation, Walter Savage Landor. The General was too much a man of the world to get himself into such scrapes as Landor did, though a pamphlet he wrote on the maltreatment he received for a painful affection of his eyes certainly brought him within a quite Landorian danger zone. But in both men there was the same quick passion, the same superficial vanity and belief in themselves, the same high idealism, burning humanity, and ready kindness. When I consented to go to Providence he not only gave me a 'chit' to the manager of a steamship company which gave me a millionaire's state-room at the minimum fare, but was so anxious that I should have comfortable quarters while at work that one of his friends was driven to ask if this Englishman was used to being wrapped up in cotton wool. By his good offices, moreover, I received during my six weeks even more than my share of the always generous American hospitality. Like Landor, to those who knew him the General was one of the most lovable of men, and by those who loved him very easy to handle. He had also an absolute love of truth and submitted without a murmur when, in accordance with the best opinion in 1909, I knocked out of his list of First Books the *Dialogus super Libertate Ecclesiastica* 'supra Rychenstein impressus', on the ground that 'supra Rychenstein' was an address at Cologne itself, and not a distinct place with a press of its own. In this the 'best opinion of 1909' was wrong, and before the old man's death, though too late for him to know it, Rychenstein was successfully identified with the castle of Rheinstein, a little below Bingen, where the *Dialogus* was printed by the wife of its author, Erwin vom Stege, while her husband was in prison in Cologne.

General Hawkins's own work, the *First Books and Printers of the Fifteenth Century* (1884), though (as in the case of the catalogue of his collection) subsequent discoveries have

corrected it in many details, was much in advance of its day, and one of the first-fruits of Henry Bradshaw's method. By Bradshaw the General was loved and honoured, and in the Introduction to the 'Catalogue' there is a story, which the General used often to tell, of how Bradshaw the last time he saw him escorted him to the gate of King's College, Cambridge, without hat or umbrella and in evening dress, amid a storm of rain, and as he shook hands at the door of the cab, exclaimed, 'I can never forget that you are an American and take an interest in early printing!' At that date the General must indeed have been almost the only collector of fifteenth-century books in the United States. Of his success as a collector something has already been said. It may be epitomized by the statement that while in 1909 the British Museum possessed specimens of the presses of 166 towns into which printing was introduced in the fifteenth century out of a total of 238, General Hawkins had obtained similar specimens for 141, and that of the real 'incunabula', those printed up to the close of 1480, his collection represented those printed in 84 towns, as against the Museum's 94, out of a total of 111. It was a fine achievement for a private collector of quite moderate wealth, and I like to think that his body rests amid his treasures even as that of Aldus lay in state, with fine books of his printing all around him, in the church of San Paternian at Venice. The General was worthy of his collections as they of him, and I wish I had been with those who laid his tired old body to rest next to the woman by whose name and not his own he willed that their common memorial should be known.

REVIEWS

THE EARLY TYPOGRAPHY OF DENMARK ¹

CHR. BRUUN's *Den danske Litteratur fra Bogtrykkerkunstens Indførelse i Danmark til 1550*, hitherto the standard authority on early Danish books, was issued as long ago as 1870-5, and is therefore well out of date bibliographically, in view of the radical changes which the methods of dealing with early printing have undergone since the beginning of the century. The volume under review, by one of the assistant librarians at the Royal Library of Copenhagen, is designed to supersede Bruun's work and sets out to do for its period all, and even somewhat more than all that Mr. Gordon Duff's recent publication has done for English incunabula. In general arrangement it runs on very similar lines. The bulk of it is made up of detailed descriptions of the books in alphabetical order, with references to authorities and notes of extant copies. Then comes a short list arranged under towns and presses, which is followed by a set of generally excellent facsimiles illustrating not merely all types but also all woodcut capitals, borders, and devices found in Danish-printed books down to the year 1550. Five additional plates show special rarities, the first Danish Bible, the first book printed in Denmark and the like. An important feature is the lengthy and instructive introductory sketch of the history of printing in and for Denmark during the period. Hr. Nielsen has clearly done his work thoroughly, and he is to be congratulated on a very handsome publication, which outwardly shows no

¹ *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1550*. Med særligt Hensyn til Dansk Bogtrykker-kunsts Historie. Af Lauritz Nielsen. pp. xlvii, 247. Copenhagen, 1919. 11½ × 8¾.

trace whatever of the difficult times in which it made its appearance.

The Danish book-trade, relatively considerable as it is to-day, has grown, like our own, from small beginnings. Hr. Nielsen includes in his scope, besides books printed on Danish soil, books printed abroad for the Danish market, and books having Danes for their authors or editors.¹ Yet the total number of editions in his list is no more than 298, of which 185 were produced in Denmark and one in Iceland (*Breuiarium Holense*, Jón Matthiasson, Hólar, 1534). Of the remainder, the greater part is referable to German presses, notably to those of the three North German cities of Lübeck, Magdeburg, and Rostock. This is, of course, what was to be expected, just as it is natural to find Lübeck the centre whence the printing art was introduced into Denmark, Johann Snell passing over from Lübeck to Odense in or about 1482 to print, at the invitation of Bishop Rønno, a Breviary for local use. The earliest Danish presses were to an even greater extent than those of Italy in the hands of foreigners. Of the three printers who worked in the country before 1501 Snell and Arndes were Germans and Gotfred at Ghemen a Dutchman. They were followed in 1510 by another German, Matthaeus Brandis, and no book by a native master of the craft is recorded before 25 March 1513, on which day Poul Ræff of Copenhagen completed a Manual for Roskilde use. Ghemen is considerably the most important among these early figures. Both Dr. H. O. Lange and Hr. Nielsen accept Holtrop's typographical demonstration of his identity both with the Ghovaert van Ghemen who printed at Gouda and Leiden about 1485, and also with the Gotfridus

¹ He excepts as not certainly a Dane the mysterious 'Kanutus [or Kamintus] Episcopus Arhusiensis' who wrote an often reprinted tract on the plague. The form 'Arhusiensis' here given would imply Aarhus in Denmark, but he is generally taken to be 'Arosiensis', i.e. Bishop of Västerås in Sweden.

de Os who completed an 'Opusculum grammaticale' at Gouda on 13 November 1486.¹ He appears to have been established in Copenhagen by 1489 and he continued at work there until 1510. The discovery that a Dutch tract entitled *Kompst van Keyser Frederyck te Trier, sine nota* but assignable to about 1486 (Campbell 764), is printed with type originally used by Snell, suggests that the latter somehow formed the connecting link between Ghemen and Denmark. Ghemen's types reveal their Dutch origin at a glance, but the majority of the founts illustrated by Hr. Nielsen are naturally akin to German models. There is also, however, a small group of types showing French influence, and these owe their appearance in this unexpected quarter to Christian Pedersen, the notable translator of 'King Christian III's Bible', who on his return to Denmark in 1532 brought with him from Antwerp Johan Hoochstraten, son of the well-known Michael Hillenius van Hoochstraten, together with his press and material. The press was immediately set up at Malmö, and from 1533 to 1535 produced twenty-three books, the majority of a religious character. Among these is John Gau's Scots translation of one of Pedersen's own tracts *The richt way to the Kingdome of heuine*, the only known copy of which was until recently at Britwell.

A notable feature not only of Gau's book but also of a large proportion of these early Danish editions is their extreme scarcity. No less than thirty-two of Hr. Nielsen's 298 entries are taken from the descriptions of earlier bibliographers, not one copy being now known to exist, and more than thirty others are represented only by a single more or less imperfect specimen. These figures must come pretty near to constituting a record. As regards the incunabula more

¹ Proctor keeps the two names separate in the table of his *Index*, but this is no doubt merely for convenience, as only one of the books in question is in the British Museum.

particularly, just a dozen printed on Danish soil are enumerated in the list. Three of them have disappeared completely, and the remaining nine muster between them sixteen copies, besides a few fragments. The British Museum possesses none of them, nor apparently does any other library in the Kingdom.

VICTOR SCHOLDERER.

THE N-TOWN PLAYS¹

MISS SWENSON'S study of this curious cycle is the fullest that has yet appeared. It seems to have been written in the autumn of 1913 and was printed in October 1914; my own Sandars lecture on the subject was delivered in November 1913 and printed a year later: our investigations were therefore quite independent. That we arrived at generally similar conclusions is largely due to our having both attacked the problem through a comparison of the prologue with the actual text. By this and other subsidiary means Miss Swenson has discovered much concerning the history of the plays, though there remains perhaps even more that patient research may be expected to reveal. For one thing she has by no means exhausted the information that can be extracted from the material make-up of the volume. Thus she has observed the successive catchwords on fol. 148*b*, but she has failed to notice that they correspond to the successive insertion of leaves after that indicated. The manuscript simply

¹ *An Inquiry into the Composition and Structure of Ludus Coventriae*, by Esther L. Swenson, with a Note on the Home of Ludus Coventriae by Hardin Craig. (University of Minnesota. Studies in Language and Literature. Number 1.) Minneapolis, Bulletin of the University of Minnesota, October 1914. (Large 8vo, 83 pages.)

bristles with clues, and when these have all been properly followed up we shall know a great deal more than we do now about the anatomy of the cycle, and when its component parts as thus revealed have been subjected to further linguistic, metrical, and structural analysis we may know something of their origin. Such an investigation will necessarily be far more detailed, and I fear much longer, than Miss Swenson's, which is however, meanwhile, most welcome as a helpful contribution to the subject.

If I have any criticism to make of Miss Swenson's method it is that she is somewhat too fond of *a priori* assertions as to what the nature of a particular play should be. That the Veronica story 'comes from a legendary source, such as would probably not have been used in this cycle at the time of the writing of the Prologue', is rather too dogmatic a statement for a really critical study. As regards details, I am inclined to doubt whether Miss Swenson has sufficiently analysed the Prologue itself. That it belongs to a quite early stage in the development of the cycle, if not to the very nucleus, there is no manner of doubt. On the other hand it has not come down to us in quite its original form. Miss Swenson suspects two plain quatrains (the manuscript leaves blanks for the completion of the stanzas) of being interpolations. They no doubt are; but it is also more than probable that certain stanzas in the Passion section have been re-written to suit the altered text at a quite late, though perhaps not the latest, point in its career.

The final paragraphs of the study are devoted to attempting an answer to the question: How was the cycle performed? In my view this is an illegitimate question admitting of no reply, because the cycle as we have it was never meant for performance. It is easy to show that the cycle first took its present shape in the extant manuscript, and the marginal notes and genealogies clearly prove this to have been pre-

pared for literary and not for theatrical use. The numerals by which the cycle is throughout divided into separate plays are no evidence of representation, but are inserted merely to introduce some sort of correspondence with the Prologue. On the other hand it is exceedingly difficult to determine how far the amalgamation of heterogeneous material was first effected in the existing manuscript. But in any case it is only to the constituent portions of the cycle, whether united in 1468 or at an earlier period, that the question of representation can be properly taken to apply. Some of these, the Childhood of Mary and the Passion, are in the main intended for representation on a great stationary and multiple stage, with a number of *domi* or 'schaffaldys'. Other portions, the Old Testament and liturgical Resurrection plays, have every appearance of being in origin processional, though the former group at least has been contaminated from a stationary source. The Assumption, if intended for representation at all, was most likely performed, as Miss Swenson suggests, in the nave of some great church. That no attempt has been made to harmonize these various modes of representation is perhaps the strongest of all arguments for supposing that performance of the whole cycle was never contemplated: the Prologue and the various and contradictory allusions to actual representation in the text itself all belong to contributory sources.

Professor Hardin Craig's note collects the evidence in favour of Lincoln as the home of the cycle. But he needs first to show that this phrase has any meaning.

W. W. GREG.

EARLY BOOKS AT AMSTERDAM AND ANTWERP ¹

Of these two catalogues, relating to small collections of early books, the first is remarkable for its very unusual arrangement, which is neither alphabetical nor merely typographical but proceeds on a complicated group-system. The first main group comprises Italian incunabula, which in turn are divided into: Greek books; Latin books, theological and literary, medical, legal; Italian books. Then follow French incunabula and German incunabula, again with subdivisions. The second section of the catalogue enumerates the collection of Dutch books as a whole in two main divisions, the second beginning with the originator of *de nieuwe drukletter*, Hendrik de Letter-snijder of Delft, whose career started in 1497. It was P. Kruit-wagen who first called attention to the importance of Hendrik, but we may doubt whether he would unreservedly approve of the use to which Mr. Burger has here put that excellent craftsman. As the whole collection numbers only 119 non-Dutch and 209 Dutch books and the usual short lists under towns and printers are provided, no great harm is done by these bibliographical gymnastics, which seem, however, to have nothing to recommend them. The descriptions themselves give little typographical information beyond references to Hain, &c., but deal at length with the condition and provenance of each copy.

Venice, Strasburg, Cologne, and Basel supply the bulk of the non-Dutch books, and there is nothing very remarkable among them. The proportion of medical incunabula, which number

¹ *De Incunabelen en de nederlandsche Uitgaven tot 1540 in de Bibliotheek der Universiteit van Amsterdam* beschreven door C. P. Burger jr. Met facsimiles. Nijhoff, 's Gravenhage, 1919. pp. 44 + 72.

De Incunabelen of Wieggedrukken van de Hoofdbibliotheek der Stad Antwerpen bibliografisch beschreven door Emm. De Bom en H. Pottmeyer. Nijhoff, 's Gravenhage, 1919. pp. 49.

twenty, mostly from a single collection, is large, and some of the editions are valuable. There are also copies of the two German Bibles of Quentell and that of Arndes, Lübeck, 1494, though why Mr. Burger should doubt that Arndes was the real printer and suggest Kachelofen at Leipzig in place of him is not at all evident. The Dutch section is naturally the more interesting of the two and contains among its forty or so incunabula over twenty books in the vernacular, including the first Dutch Bible (Delft, 1477).

Messrs. de Bom and Pottmeyer's list of the incunabula of the Antwerp City Library, which was completed before the armistice, runs to only eighty-six items, arranged in order of pressmarks, with the necessary short lists appended. One of the books is described at length with a facsimile of the colophon, since it is as yet unrecorded; this is an edition of Jan van Remmerswael's *Der sondaren troest*, printed by Mathias van der Goes at Antwerp in 1492. From the introduction it appears that a 'perpetual fund' for the benefit of the Library and the Plantin Museum instituted in 1906 has enabled seven incunabula to be acquired since that date.

VICTOR SCHOLDERER.

LOW COUNTRY BOOKS, 1500-40¹

A GENERAL appreciation of this important work, which is designed as a direct continuation of Campbell's *Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au xv^e siècle*, must be postponed until its completion, the five parts received (883 entries) only carrying the alphabetical list down to the heading Eusebius. In a prefatory note printed inside the wrapper of each part Mr. Nijhoff explains that much of it is a republica-

¹ *Nederlandsche Bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*. Door Wouter Nijhoff, met medewerking van M. E. Kronenberg. 's-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1919, &c. In parts of 64 pp. each, fl. 3 per part.

tion of the contents of the twenty parts of 'Feuilles provisoires' issued by him in a limited edition between 1901 and 1912. The original intention of postponing publication until the whole of the material should be ready to go to press has had to be modified in consequence of the war, so that a number of titles which are at present difficult to check have been held over, and will form a supplementary volume together with any addenda accruing in the meantime. The present volume is to be complete in about 2,100 titles and there will be an introduction and indices. Of the books printed in the year 1500 only those not already dealt with by Campbell are included.

V. SCHOLDERER.

THE WORK OF MATTHEW PARIS¹

DR. JAMES's latest publication is one of exceptional interest to students of manuscripts in this country, for besides giving us, as the title implies, a complete reproduction and description of a unique English book, it contains an account of the work of Matthew Paris and his school that is likely to remain the last word on this subject for many years to come.

It is impossible to do justice in a short space to the many interesting points of the introduction, and I propose to confine myself in the main to a summary of the section of it that deals with the authorship and origin of the manuscript. Dr. James's view of the matter is best given in his own words: 'My belief is that in the manuscript here reproduced we have 'a work of Matthew Paris, carried out at St. Alban's Abbey 'under his supervision, not by his own hand. I guess it to

¹ *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le rei*. The Life of St. Edward the Confessor, reproduced in facsimile from the unique manuscript (Cambridge University Library, EE. 3. 59) together with some pages of the manuscript of the Life of St. Alban at Trinity College, Dublin, with an Introduction by M. R. James, Litt.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Provost of Eton College, sometime Provost of King's College, Cambridge. Roxburghe Club, M CM XX.

‘have been made for presentation to Henry III’s queen, Eleanor of Provence, soon after the time (1241) when Henry III had made a new and splendid shrine for the ‘relics of St. Edward the Confessor.’

Two extracts relating to Matthew Paris as a writer and artist follow, from the second of which, taken from a writing attributed to Thomas Walsingham, we learn that he ‘conscript et depinxit elegantissime’ the lives of SS. Alban and Amphibalus and of SS. Thomas and Edmund, Archbishops of Canterbury. Dr. James, as is to be expected, has some light to throw on this. The life of St. Edmund is lost, having been in all probability the burnt portion of Cotton MS. Vit. D. VIII, and that of St. Thomas remains only in a fragment of four leaves in private hands in Belgium; but we have those of SS. Alban and Amphibalus in MS. E. i. 40 at Trinity College, Dublin, a volume bearing the inscription of ownership of St. Alban’s Abbey, and on the fly-leaves of this manuscript Dr. James has made some interesting discoveries, which he describes fully. These consist of a series of notes, clearly by ‘some one who wrote ‘and illustrated books’; two relate to the loan of this volume to an unnamed borrower, who may retain it ‘usque ad Pascham’, and of the ‘librum de sancto thoma martyre et ‘sancto [ed]-wardo quem transtuli et protraxi’ (*portrayed*, i. e. *illustrated*) to the Countesses of Arundel and Cornwall, the former of whom Dr. James identifies with Isabel de Warenne, a lady twice mentioned by Matthew Paris in his *Chronica Maiora*. There are also two sets of model verses for use in picture books, presumably Psalters or Hours, of which one was to be executed for the Countess of Winchester; a mutilated drawing of the Virgin and Child, the drapery of which ‘is extremely like’ that in the well-known picture of the same subject in Roy. MS. 14 C. VII, f. 6; and finally a prayer in Latin for the recovery of eyesight

through the intercession of St. Cendonius (or Cedonius), 'not inappropriate for use by a professional scribe', of which Dr. James has discovered another version in Cotton MS., Jul. D. VII, a St. Albans book of Matthew Paris's time. From these notes Dr. James draws the following inferences:—they relate mainly, as has been seen, to certain picture books. 'These picture books are Lives of St. Thomas the Martyr and St. Edward translated and illustrated by the writer of the notes himself. . . . All these, it is reasonable to suppose, were done or planned by the writer of the manuscript in which we find the notes, who was therefore a St. Albans artist. But we are told the name of a St. Albans artist who wrote and illustrated lives of SS. Alban, Amphibalus, Thomas, and Edmund, and this was Matthew Paris.' Dr. James rejects the 'tempting conjecture' that for 'Edmund' in Walsingham's account, mentioned above, we should read 'Edward'; the words are explicit, and in any case, 'the existence and origin of an Edward life in vernacular is sufficiently attested by the Dublin MS.'

After noting the close similarity in arrangement between the *Alban*, the fragmentary *Thomas*, and the *Edward* lives, Dr. James brings into line with these the *Vitae Duorum Offarum* in Cotton MS. Nero D.I., and points out for the first time the close coincidence between some of the final pictures of the latter and those in the *Alban* life, dealing with the invention of the Saint's relics and the foundation of the Abbey. It is noteworthy that all except the first seven pictures in Nero D.I. are in all probability as late as the fourteenth century, and Dr. James suggests that the *Alban* life was used as a model by the artist who finished the series of *Offa* drawings.

We are thus safe in regarding the four manuscripts as St. Albans work and of the school of Matthew Paris, and Dr. James thinks it most probable that the text of the French

poems in each was the work of one man. The text is in every case incomplete, and the first leaf of the *Alban* life, in particular, which should have given us the prologue and the author's name, is missing, so that Dr. James has to rely on Walsingham's statement, which there is no reason to doubt, that Paris was the author of the lives.

Dr. James next discusses the actual part taken by Paris in the writing and illustrating of these and other books. With regard to the handwriting, the list of works which Sir F. Madden accepted as authentic was criticized as unduly generous by Sir T. D. Hardy, while recent writers, such as Professor Lethaby, and Dr. Lindblom of Stockholm, have been more interested in the drawings. Dr. James has re-examined for the purpose of his introduction the various manuscripts assigned to Paris. 'As to the question of writing, 'I will only say that there is a good deal of rough writing 'and annotations and corrections, which we can safely regard 'as Paris' autographs. But when we are confronted with 'regular book-hands, I prefer to compromise on the state- 'ment that he undoubtedly developed a certain style of 'writing in the scriptorium of St. Albans, of which we have 'a large number of examples in the manuscripts I have men- 'tioned. The few leaves (containing the Testaments of the 'twelve Patriarchs and some other matter) which are added 'at the beginning and end of Royal 4 D. VII, I think may 'very likely be in his autograph.' In the matter of the drawings Dr. James has more confidence. Of Nero D. I, his 'impression was' that the following 'might probably be 'Paris' work': the first six drawings (the seventh, while of the thirteenth century, is in his opinion by a different hand); f. 122, marginal drawing of seal of Grand Master of Hospitallers; f. 146, gems in the Abbey Treasury; f. 149, beheading of Alban; f. 156 b, small figure; f. 169 b, the elephant; f. 185, outline drawing of parrot; f. 200,

rough copies of shields tricked for blazoning. 'Add to these 'the Virgin and Child and most of the marginal drawings 'in 14 C. VII, the imperfect Virgin and Child in *Alban*, 'and the picture at Faaborg¹ (which I have not seen) and 'you have all that I can at present assign with any confidence 'to the hand of Matthew Paris in the way of drawing. Near 'to these I would place the drawings of John Wallingford 'and of our Lord in Julius D. VII.'

With regard to Paris's share in the pictures in *Alban*, *Thomas*, and *Edward*, of which he uses the word 'protraxi', Dr. James has no doubt that he designed them, but does not feel able to say that any of them were actually limned by him in the manuscripts. 'His own handiwork seems to 'me always rather bolder, not to say rougher, than anything 'we see in *Edward*.'

Dr. James cannot agree with Dr. Lindblom's suggestion that the Trinity College Apocalypse is an early work of Matthew Paris, although he does not wish to 'be understood 'as denying that it may be the work of a St. Albans artist': if any Apocalypses are to be assigned to Paris's school, he is more inclined to favour Fr. 403 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Add. 35166 in the British Museum, and its near relation in Mr. Dyson Perrins's collection. Dr. Lindblom also considers the drawings at the end of the 'Westminster' Psalter (Roy. MS. 2 A, XXII) to be Paris's, and Dr. James agrees that they do remind one of his work, particularly the Veronica head, which has its parallel in the Corpus Christi *Historia Maior*. He points out also that the full-page paintings of this Psalter, especially the figure of Gabriel in the Annunciation, and some representations of finely mottled marble in several of the pictures, strongly recall certain other St. Albans books,²

¹ This is a painting of St. Peter at Faaborg, Norway, which Dr. Lindblom regards as Paris's work; Paris was in Norway in 1248-9.

² These are a glossed Gospels and a glossed Epistles at Trinity College,

although these are all of an earlier date than Paris; the leaves containing the drawings could however have been added to the volume later.

In discussing the general character of the illustrations to the Life of St. Edward, Dr. James again draws our attention to the three Apocalypses mentioned above, adding to these the Bodleian Apocalypse (Auct. D. 4, 17), which was reproduced for the Roxburghe Club in 1876 by Mr. H. O. Coxe. The manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale he considers undoubtedly earlier than Add. 35166 and Mr. Perrins's book; its general resemblance to the *Edward* life may be readily seen from the facsimile published by the Société des Anciens Textes Français, and it is to be hoped in this connexion that we may some day possess similar reproductions of the other two manuscripts.

Dr. James completes his description of the plates with three notes, on the Iconography of St. Edward, on a Bible at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (which contains a map of the Holy Land in the style of Paris and two very interesting unfinished paintings, probably of the twelfth century), and on the peculiar cross of St. Alban or Amphibalus, as seen in the Dublin MS. and elsewhere.

The admirable plates by Mr. Emery Walker give us the complete reproduction of the Cambridge MS., as well as the Virgin and Child and ten selected pages of the Alban Life.

There is only one matter for regret connected with the book, and that is that a work of so much interest and value to students should only be available in a strictly limited edition.

ERIC G. MILLAR.

Cambridge (B. 5. 3, and O. 5. 8), and three Bibles at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (no. 48), Trinity College, Dublin (A. 2. 2), and Eton College (no. 26).

The Library

Fourth Series
Vol. I. No. 4

1 March 1921

THE EARLIEST FRENCH ITINERARIES

1552 AND 1591

CHARLES ESTIENNE AND THÉODORE DE MAYERNE-TURQUET¹

By SIR H. GEORGE FORDHAM

THE development of systematic travel in Central Europe in the sixteenth century was characterized, as was naturally the case, by the publication of a special literature, partly cartographic, but, in the main, in the form of Itineraries, and of lists of fairs and tables of moneys and of exchange and relative values.

The first examples known in France are *La Guide des Chemins de France* (Facs. I) and *Les Voyages de plusieurs endroits de France : et encores de la Terre Saincte, d'Espaigne, d'Italie, et autres Pays*, together with *Les Fleuves du Royaume de France* (Facs. II), both volumes compiled and printed by Charles Estienne,² and published in Paris in 1552.

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 15 November 1920.

² Charles Estienne was born in 1504, a member of the famous family of printers established in Paris. He was the third son of the first Henri Estienne and brother of Robert. Destined for the medical profession, he completed his studies and was admitted doctor in medicine. He was, however, drawn by circumstances into the printing business and was appointed printer to the King, and his work is well known. He died in prison, to which he was committed for debt, in 1564.

Ex libris Ste Genevieve Paris

La guide des chemins de France.

L. v. ~~l'ancien~~ De ~~l'ancien~~ ~~l'ancien~~



A PARIS,

Chez Charles Estienne, Libraire,
membre du Roy.

M. D. LII.

Avec priuilege dudi^t Seigneur.

C

I. First Edition. From the copy at the Ste-Geneviève Library, Paris.

Les Voyages

DE PLUSIEURS EN-
droits de France:& encores
de la terre Sainte, d'Espai-
gne, d'Italie, & autres pays.

40. *La lib. Ste Genevieve 1734*

Les Fleuves du

ROYAUME DE FRANCE.

J. B. de la Haye del.

A PARIS,

Chez Charles Estienne, Im-
primeur du Roy.

M. D. LII.

Avec priuilege dudit Seigneur.

II. First Edition. From the copy at the St^e-Geneviève Library, Paris.

At a somewhat long interval, there appeared, at Geneva, the *Sommaire Description de la France, Allemagne, Italie et Espagne, Avec la Guide des Chemins pour aller et venir par les provinces, et aux villes plus renommées de ces quatre regions. A quoy est adjousté un recueil des foires plus celebres presque de toute l'Europe. Et un traicté des monnoyes et leur valleur esdicts pays, provinces et villes*, the work of Théodore de Mayerne-Turquet¹ and printed by Jacob Stoer.

The *Guide* of Estienne was frequently reprinted by different publishers, and in various towns, during a period which extended to as late as the year 1623. The *Sommaire Description* of Mayerne-Turquet was reprinted at Geneva up to 1653, while a Rouen edition is known to have had a range in time from 1604 to 1642.

The following notes are intended to lay before the Society our present knowledge of these publications, established recently by the inquiries I have made in order to compile a catalogue of the French Road-Books and Itineraries which

¹ Louis Turquet de Mayerne (so styled in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, tome 34. Paris, 1861, 8vo) was a French historian, born about 1550 at Lyons. He died in Paris in March 1618. He is supposed to have been a member of a Piedmontese family bearing the name of Turquetti, and the name Mayerne is said to have been taken from a country house he possessed in the neighbourhood of Geneva.

His more distinguished son, Théodore, was born at Geneva in 1573 and died at Chelsea in 1655. He studied medicine, first at Heidelberg, and, later, at Montpellier, where, after a residence of five years, he received the degree of doctor in 1597. He then went to Paris, where he established a considerable reputation, obtaining the appointment of physician to the King, and, in 1600, he accompanied the Duke of Rohan to the Diet of Spire and afterwards to Italy. In 1611 he was invited to England by James I, and became first physician to that King, holding the same appointment under Charles I up to the time of his execution, when he retired to Chelsea.

Portraits of Théodore de Mayerne-Turquet exist in the National Portrait Gallery, at the College of Physicians, and at Geneva.

has just appeared in Paris,¹ and which has been framed on the lines laid down in a similar list published by the Society as an Appendix to my paper, 'Road-Books and Itineraries Bibliographically considered',² read in November 1913.

The germ of the road-book of modern times may be found in the earliest printed accounts of the organized pilgrimages to the Holy Land dating from towards the end of the fifteenth century, in which the land journey from Paris, from London, and from other centres is recorded stage by stage to the port of embarkation for the voyage to Jaffa, and thence to Jerusalem and the holy places of Syria, which at this period was Venice. The particulars given in these narratives, with the numerous clauses of the formal contract between the pilgrim-travellers and the masters of ships, and the amounts of the inclusive payments for the whole journey to Jerusalem and back from Venice, which have been recorded in manuscript and in print, enable us to realize how completely the system then in existence resembled organized travel of our own day.³

There are other publications which deal with Roads and Travel antecedent to the appearance of Charles Estienne's *Guide*, and, amongst them, the road-map of Germany dated 1501, recently published in facsimile,⁴ and the little book compiled by Jacques Signot, and printed by Toussains Denis in Paris, with a map of Italy. This latter work appeared in

¹ *Catalogue des Guides-Routiers et des Itinéraires Français, 1552-1850.* (*Bulletin de la Section de Géographie*, tome XXXIV, année 1919. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1920, 8vo).

² *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, vol. xiii. London, 1916, 4to, at p. 38 *et seq.*

³ See 'Roads and Travel before Railways in Hertfordshire and Elsewhere,' (*Transactions of the Hertfordshire Natural History Society*, Vol. XVI, Part I. Hertford, 1915, 8vo, at p. 1 *et seq.*).

⁴ W. Wolkenhauer, *Erhard Eitzlaubs Reisekarte durch Deutschland aus dem Jahre 1501. Eine Karte der Frührenaissance. Mit einem Begleittext von Prof. Dr. W. Wolkenhauer.* Berlin, 1919, fol.

1515.¹ It was published in connexion with the wars waged by the French kings Charles VIII and Francis I in Italy, as a description of the means of access into that country from France, and was subsequently several times reprinted. The map issued with Signot's work is missing in all the copies I have seen, but its existence was presumable from the mention of a map in the licence to publish accorded to Denis the printer. Some years back I was fortunate enough to discover a copy in the Bibliothèque nationale, which I have since had reproduced in facsimile. This is a good example of the early woodcut maps. The passes through the Alps are shown, but no attempt has been made to indicate the lines of roads.

Some other traces of efforts of an elementary character in the direction of giving information useful to travellers in book or map form may be found in Germany, and, possibly, in Italy,² but, however this may be, the credit for pioneer work in the matter must certainly remain with Estienne and with the Paris press.

What Estienne had in view is perhaps best explained by extracts from the text of the Addresses to the Reader prefixed to the first editions of the *Guide* and the *Voyages*, respectively, both dated in 1552 :

(i) 'L'Auteur de ce livret (Lecteur) en a faict par passe-temps, a la requeste de ses amis, ce qu'il a peu . . . luy suffisant d'avoir pour ceste fois entreprins chose, que tu puisse estimer proufitable, et qui paradventure donne occasion a un autre, en ensuivant ce premier traict, de mieulx faire, s'il luy est

¹ *La totale et vraie description de tous les paissaiges, lieux, et destroictz : par lesquelz on peut passer et entrer des Gaules es ytalies.* Paris, 1515, sm. 4to.

² See *Poste per diverse parti del mondo e Il viaggio di S. Jacomo di Galitia. Con tutte le Fiere notabili, che si fanno per tutto il mondo.* Lyons, 1572, 16mo. And a book published at Venice in 1540: *Tariffa de I Pesi, e misure corrispondenti dal Levante al Ponente*, which is a copious set of tables of weights and measures and rates of exchange.

‘ possible, attendu qu’il n’est riens plus aisé qu’adjouster aux choses inventees . . .

‘ Escout encor ce mot, L’Auteur avoit deliberé te donner par mesme moyen, les pellerinages ou voyages des lieux saints, avec l’entiere description des fleuves de France, qu’il a tous prests : mais il s’est advisé d’attendre ton jugement et advis sur ceste premiere facon, pour avec quelque amendement, t’en rendre cy apres plus content.’

(ii) ‘ Le contentement que l’Auteur de la *Guide* des chemins de France, a receu de toy (Lecteur) quand il t’a pleu (quelque imperfaicte qu’elle fust) la prendre en bonne part : luy a donné de tant meilleur courage de fournir a la promesse qu’il t’avoit faicte, touchant les saints voyages, et fleuves de ce pays : et faict esperer, qu’en s’acquittant, tu l’excuseras de l’assurance qu’il ne te peut donner, sans meilleur advisement, touchant les limites et noms des villes et endroits qui y sont contenuz. Au demeurant, il te veult advertir, que combien que sa premiere intention fust, de ne passer pour ceste fois les limites de France, qui sont les mers et montaignes, des quelles elle est bornee de toutes parts : toutesfois (comme les inventions croissent a mesure que lon poursuyt les choses entreprinses) il ne s’est peu tenir de toucher les principaulx et plus frequentez voyages en Italie, Espagne et terre Sainte. Ce qu’il te supplie excuser, en attendant ce qu’il en pourra mieulx faire cy apres : si c’est a luy toutes fois, de tant oser entreprendre au faict des pays . . .’

In the second edition of the *Guide*, also of 1552, Estienne adds other information as to his difficulties, and (no doubt) replies to criticisms on the first issue of his work :

‘ Pour le mescontentement qui pourroit survenir au moyen de la diversité d’opinions au nombre des lieues et journées de chascun chemin, il n’entend la mesure d’icelle en estre plus certaine, que la coustume des pays, qui change de jour

‘ a autre. Parquoy luy a semblé suffisant merquer les gistes
 ‘ et repeues, que chascun pourra partir selon sa commodité,
 ‘ estant asseuré, que s’il loge ailleurs (pourveu qu’il n’y ait
 ‘ note de ville ou bourgade) il pourra bien tomber en danger
 ‘ d’estre mal traicté. Et neantmoins te prie excuser l’ortho-
 ‘ graphe des surnoms, attendu que de divers auteurs, comme
 ‘ messagiers, marchans, et pellerins desquels luy a esté force
 ‘ s’aider, ne peult sortir que grand diversité, qui se pourra
 ‘ corriger a mesure que les advisemens en viendront.
 ‘ Quant a l’incertitude de la division et estendue des pays,
 ‘ tu scais combien elle est variable selon les appanages et
 ‘ changemens des princes.’

The whole tone of these extracts justifies the conclusion that Estienne had compiled, in circumstances of difficulty of which he is fully conscious, a novel and original work, which he is anxious to improve and perfect, as time goes on and criticisms and corrections reach him. His attitude is characteristic, in this respect, of the editors of the best guides of modern times. It will be observed that Estienne does not rely upon any official sources of information, although it is very possible that, even as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, some *ordonnances* existed in France setting out the main lines of route and the stages upon them, similar to the proclamation of 1 July 1535, which set out the eight main postal routes in England. However this may be, Estienne, in citing as sources of information *messagiers, marchans, et pellerins*, shows that the particulars he gives are largely, if not entirely, collected from original and personal information.

The single issue of the *Voyages* and three issues of the *Guide* appear to be all that Estienne himself published. These three issues are of 1552, 1552 (*veue, corrigée et augmentée pour la seconde fois*), and 1553 (*veue, corrigée et augmentée pour la troisieme fois*). The rivers of France, which appear in the *Voyages* of 1552, are incorporated in the third edition of the *Guide*,

1553. Only one copy of each of the first issues of the *Guide* and of the *Voyages* of 1552 is known to exist. They are both in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris. Of the second edition of the *Guide* one copy also is known—that in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. Of the third edition three copies remain in public libraries—in the Bibliothèque nationale, the British Museum, and the Bodleian Library respectively (Facs. III).

Reproductions of the title-pages of all four of Estienne's Road-Books, as described above, will be found in a collection of plates I have published as a supplement of illustrations to be distributed with 150 author's reprints of my *Catalogue* already cited.¹

The work of Estienne, although protected by royal licence, was immediately seized upon and reprinted by a Rouen publisher, who issued in 1553 editions both of the *Guide* and the *Voyages* (Facs. IV and V). This piracy was committed by *Martin le mesgissier Libraire, tenant son ouvroir au hault des degrez du Palais*.² He claims discreetly to print: *Avec privilege*. Copies of these two reprints are found in the Municipal Library of Rouen. I am not aware of the existence of any others.

According to Barbier³ the widow Regnault printed the *Guide* in Paris, in 1554, but I do not know of any copy. One of the following year is found in the Bodleian Library (probably a unique example of this issue) printed by the widow of Nicolas Buffet, the title now reading: *La Guide et vray enseignement des chemins du royaume de France, Revue, corrigee, et reaugmentee outre les precedentes. Aussi, sont*

¹ *Catalogue des Guides-Routiers et des Itinéraires Français, 1552-1850.—Illustrations supplémentaires*, Cambridge, 1920, 8vo.

² The Mégissiers were printers in Rouen from 1548 to 1637. The first Martin of this family carried on business from 1548 to 1563.

³ *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*, by Ant. Alex. Barbier (Paris, 3rd edition, 1872-8, 8vo), and *Supplément*, by Gustave Barbier (Paris, 1889, 8vo).

La guide des che-
mins de France, reueue & aug-
mentee pour la troisieme fois.

LES FLEVVES DV ROYAVME
de France, aussi augmentez.



A PARIS,

Chez Charles Estienne, Imprimeur du Roy,

M. D. LIII.

Auec priuilege dudit Seigneur.

III. Third Edition. From the copy at the Bodleian Library.

La guide des chemins de France.

*ex libris: B. mariae magdalenae
Rotho magensis.*



A ROVEN,
Chez Martin le mesgister Libraire,
tenant son ouuroir au hault des
degrez du Palais.

1553.

Avec priuilege.

BIBL. PUBL.
DE ROUEN.

IV. First Rouen Edition. From the copy at the Rouen Municipal Library.

To face p. 202.]

Les Voyages

DE PLUSIEURS EN-
droits de France: & encores
de la terre Sainte, d'Es-
paigne, d'Italie & au-
tres pays.

*Les Fleuves du Royaulme
de France.*

A ROUEN:

in Chez Martin le mesgissier Libraire
tenant son ouuroier au hault des
degrez du Palais.

1553.

Auec priuilege.

augmentez les Fleuves dudict Royaume de France. This is a very small volume, measuring only 111 mm. in height by 73 mm. in width.

Both Barbier and Brunet¹ cite an issue of the *Guide* (the third edition), printed in Paris in 1560 by Estienne Groulleau, or Grouleau,² but of this I have no direct knowledge.

At Lyons, in 1566, appeared another impression, from the press of Benoist Rigaud,³ of which the only specimen known to me is in the British Museum. The title now runs, *La Guide des Chemins pour aller et venir par tout le Royaume de France et autres païs circonvoisins. Revuë et corrigee outre les precedentes impressions* (Facs. VI). This was reprinted by Rigaud in 1580, and of the latter issue two copies are in existence—one in the British Museum and the other in the Baudrier Collection now in the Château de Terrebasse in the Department of the Isère in France. About the year 1570 Simon Calverin⁴ issued another reprint, from the sign of the *Rose blanche couronnée*, in the *rue St-Jacques* in Paris. Of this a unique copy is in the British Museum (Facs. VII). The

¹ *Manuel du Libraire et de l'Amateur des Livres*, by Jacques-Charles Brunet (Paris, 1860-5, 8vo), and *Supplément*, by P. Deschamps and G. Brunet (Paris, 1878-80, 8vo).

² It is possible that there were two Estienne Groulleau (or Grouleau). The printer of 1560 was in business in 1543 and died before 30 March 1563, but books were published by a printer of the same name up to as late as 1566.

³ Benoist Rigaud, printer of Lyons, began business in 1555, for the first three years in partnership with his nephew, Jean Saugrain. Benoist died in 1597 and Pierre, the eldest of his children, took over the management of the undertaking. (See the *Bibliographie lyonnaise. Recherches sur les Imprimeurs . . . au XVI^e siècle*, by Henri-Louis Baudrier and Julien Baudrier. Lyons, 1895-1913, 8vo).

⁴ Simon Calvarin was in business several years earlier than 1553. He died on 19 January 1593. There is very little to go upon in regard to the probable date of his edition of the *Guide*. It is believed that he moved to the sign of the *Rose blanche couronnée* after the death of his brother-in-law, Guillaume Le Noir, of whose children he was guardian. Le Noir died before 1570. The younger Le Noir seems to have taken over the business in 1580.

LA
GVIDE DES
CHEMINS POVR AL-
ler & venir par tout le Roy-
aume de France & au-
tres païs circon-
uoisins.

*Reueüe & corrigee outre les prece-
dentes impressions.*



A LYON,
PAR BENOIST RIGAUD.

1566,

VI. From the copy at the British Museum.

next issue of the *Guide* in order of time is a reprint by Nicolas Bonfons,¹ who published from the sign of St. Nicolas in the *rue neuve Notre Dame*, in Paris, in 1583, the *Nouvelle Guide des Chemins pour aller et venir partous les pays et contrees, du Royaume de France. Plus. Le chemin de Ierusalem, Romme, et autres lieux de la terre Sainte*. A copy is in the Bibliothèque nationale. This is one of the very small editions, measuring only 112 mm. in height by 75 mm. in width (Facs. VIII).

Lelong² cites an issue with, apparently, the same title, and, no doubt, a reprint by Bonfons, with the place and date, Paris, 1588. I have never seen a copy, however.

Brunet, in his turn, refers to an edition published by Nicolas Bonfons in 1599, in the title of which he adds: *Lorraine, parties d'Allemagne, Savoye et Italie*, but of this again no copy is known to exist.

To Rouen we now again return, to find that in 1600 *Thomas D'Aré, Libraire demeurant à la ruë des Juifs, pres la porte du Palais*,³ was issuing a further reprint, with the title *La Grand Guide*. A copy of this edition—the only one—is found in the Bibliothèque nationale. In spite of its title it is extremely small, almost minute, measuring about 100 mm. in height by 65 mm. in width.

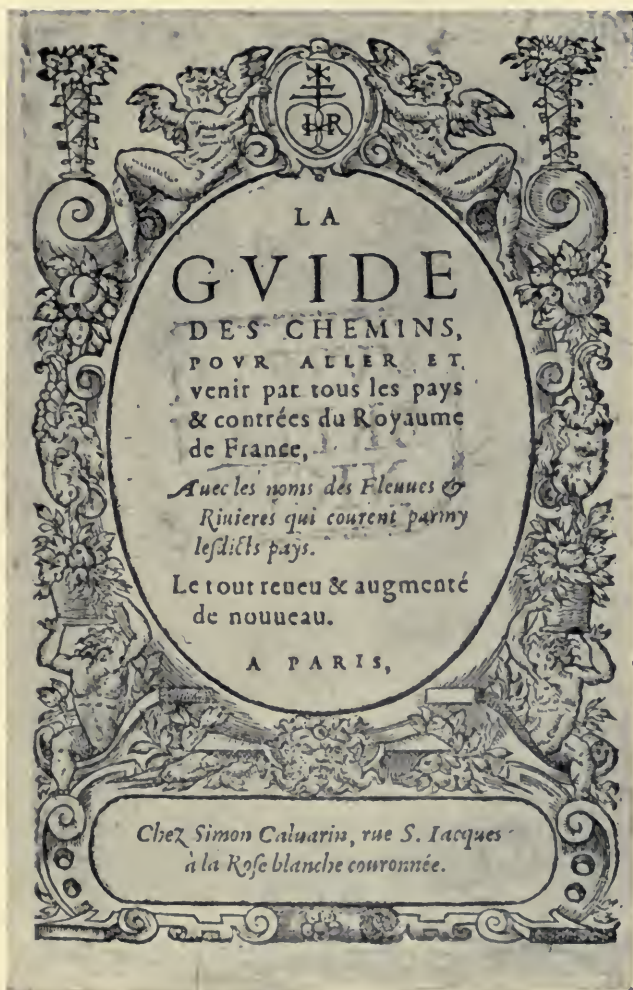
The remaining re-issues of Estienne's *Guide* come to us from Troyes, from the press of Nicolas Oudot.⁴ Brunet notes

¹ Nicolas Bonfons was printing as early as 1572. He died between the years 1626 and 1629. He had succeeded to the business of his father Jean.

² *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, new edition, by Jacques Lelong and Fevret de Fontette (Paris, 1768–78, fol.).

³ The Darés were a family of printers in Rouen, carrying on business from 1597 till 1679. The first Thomas Daré flourished from 1597 to 1618, and was thus the printer of the *Guide* of 1600.

⁴ The Oudots were printers at Troyes from 1593 to 1768. It was the first Nicolas of this family (1606–34) who published the *Grande Guide* of 1612 and 1623. See *Recherches sur l'Imprimerie à Troyes*, by Corrad de Breban (third edition, Paris, 1873, 8vo).



VII. From the copy at the British Museum.

NOUVELLE
G V I D E D E S
 C H E M I N S P O U R A L L E R
 & venir partout les pays & contrées, du
 Royaume de France.

P L U S.

*Le chemin de Jerusalem, Rome, & autres
 lieux de la terre Sainte.
 & le grand chemin de la France.*



A P A R I S,
 Par Nicolas Bonfons, rue neuve nostre
 Dame, a l'enseigne S. Nicolas.
 1 5 8 3.

VIII. From the copy at the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.

an edition of Troyes dated 1612, of which I have never discovered an example; but in the Bodleian Library is one of 1623. It has the title, *Grande Guide*, with rather full particulars following. This is the smallest issue—a waistcoat-pocket edition—105 mm. high and only 50 mm. wide.

In examining, in the University Library at Cambridge, a copy of the *Sommaire Description* of Mayerne-Turquet, edition of 1618, I was fortunate enough to discover, bound in at the end, a work entitled: *La Suite de la Guide des Chemins tant de France, d'Espagne, Italie, et autres pays: y contenant le voyage de Rome, de nostre Dame de Lorette, de S. Iaques, de nostre Dame de Mont-serra, et de la sainte cité de Ierusalem, contenus en la table. Avec les Fleuves et Rivières du Royaume de France* (Facs. IX). This supplement to Estienne's *Guide* was printed at Lyons, it seems, by Benoist Rigaud, in 1583. Of the earlier issue a copy, probably unique, is found in the Baudrier Library already referred to. The Cambridge copy is from the press of Pierre Rigaud, *ruë Merciere, au coing de ruë Ferrandiere*, and is dated 1610. It seems to be the only one of this issue existing. The two now noticed (1583 and 1610) represent all that is known of the supplement to Estienne's *Guide*. This little book has 124 pages only.

From this enumeration of the impressions of, or founded on, the *Guide* of 1552, it will be gathered that long and meticulous research has been necessary to establish the, no doubt, very incomplete, but, in any case, fairly representative and characteristic series of the Itineraries to be classed under the name of Charles Estienne, and covering a period of seventy-one years (1552-1623).

It will be found that, in all, twenty-one distinct issues have been either actually identified, as existing to-day in public and private collections, or, as having been noted in well-known catalogues, including the two editions of the *Suite*, or

LA
SVITE DE LA

GVIDE DES CHEMINS
tant de France, d'Espagne, Italie,
& autres pays: y contenant le voya-
ge de Rome, de nostre Dame de
Lorette, de S. Iaques, de nostre Da-
me de Mont-ferra, & de la sainte
cité de Ierusalem, contenus en la
table.

AVEC LES FLEPPES ET
Riniers du Royaume de France.



UNIV.
LIB.
CAMB.

A LYON.

Chez **PIERRE RIGAUD**, rue Merciere,
au coin de rue Ferrandiere,
1610.

IX. From the copy at the University Library, Cambridge

supplement. The copies still existing make up a total of eighteen only, of which the British Museum possesses four, the Bodleian three, the Cambridge University Library one, and the Paris libraries six, and the rest are in the Municipal Library of Rouen (two) and the Library of the Château de Terrebasse (two). Of these several are duplicates, thus reducing the number of editions of which copies are at our disposal to no more than fifteen.

It seems improbable that many more specimens have survived. An inquiry addressed to all the provincial libraries in France has yielded no results. There remains the possibility that additional examples exist in Germany, or in Italy, but it is obvious that the casual destruction of Itineraries and Guides and other works of daily use subject to supersession by fresh issues and enlarged and corrected reprints, has at all times been very complete, and that survivals are purely accidental. I am satisfied that the list I have now established of the Guides enumerated above and more systematically treated in the *Catalogue* already cited, is practically all that bibliographers can hope for in this little corner of research. It does, in fact, as will be admitted I think, fairly illustrate the range in time and places and dates of impression of these publications.

I now pass on to review, in a similar manner, the work of Mayerne-Turquet, later in time and more ambitious in the material incorporated, but substantially a continuance (where it is not, as in the later reprints of the *Guide*, a rival) of the work of Estienne.

Théodore de Mayerne-Turquet, born in 1573,¹ was thus only about eighteen years of age when he signed, 12 June 1591, the Dedication of the first edition of the *Sommaire Description* addressed *Au Seigneur Jean Pournas Seigneur de la Piementie mon cousin*. In this *Guide* about a hundred pages

¹ See note on the Turquets at p. 196 *ante*.

of descriptive text precede the Itinerary, properly so called, which is followed (with a separate title) by particulars of the fairs of Central Europe (Facs. X) and these again by a *Petit Traité des Metaux et Monnoyes fort utile pour le Voyager*, the pagination of the whole being continuous throughout.

As in the case of Estienne, the ideas with which Mayerne-Turquet embarked upon his work and its publication are best set out by a transcript from his own introduction, as embodied in the Dedication already referred to, and I offer no apology for its inclusion here in full:

‘ C’est une des incommoditez de ceste vie que de voyager
‘ par le monde, laquelle toutesfois est supportée legerement
‘ par les curieux, et quant à ceux qui courent les pays meus
‘ d’un desir de gaigner, ils ne la sentent comme point. Mais
‘ elle est dure à ceux là seuls qui voyagent par nécessité,
‘ comme ont fait plusieurs gens de bien ces années passées,
‘ contraints par la fureur des guerres civiles de laisser leurs
‘ naturelles habitations et visiter les nations estrangeres. Or
‘ quelle qu’en soit la cause tous ceux qui se trouvent en
‘ voyage ont un grand soulagement quand ils rencontrent
‘ quelque bonne guide, et leur semble veoir un ange du ciel,
‘ lors qu’il se presente homme qui leur peut donner seure
‘ adresse de parvenir au lieu où ils pretendent. Ce qui est
‘ mis par toutes nations pour un general devoir de l’homme
‘ raisonnable envers son prochain, pour lequel le Chrestien
‘ doit estimer estre nay autant que pour soy mesme. Ceste
‘ consideration sollicitée par mon inclination propre (car je
‘ ne suis pas exempt de ce desir de veoir diverses contrées)
‘ jointes aux occasions que le temps où nous vivons produit
‘ (lesquelles m’ont contraint desja de voyager, voire avant
‘ que d’estre nay) a fait que je me suis mis à dresser une
‘ briefve description de l’assiete des quatres principales regions
‘ de l’Europe, assavoir de la France, l’Allemagne, l’Italie et
‘ de l’Espagne, et à faire une particuliere recherche de leurs

‘provinces, et des chemins qui conduisent aux lieux plus
 ‘frequentez et villes plus renommées d’icelles, et des foires
 ‘celebres entre ces nations, à quoy j’ay aussi adjousté un
 ‘petit traicté des monnoyes. Ce qu’ayant accomply du
 ‘mieux que j’ay peu, avec l’aide d’aucuns autheurs imprimés,
 ‘et encor plus par la commodité que j’ay eue de conferer
 ‘avec mon pere : je le dedie par son advis au public, à la
 ‘charge que ceux qui s’en voudront servir le recevront de
 ‘vostre main et vous en sçauront gré. Car sçachant combien
 ‘vous vous delectez de toutes choses honnestes, qui sont
 ‘bien entreprises et poursuivies à bonne fin, j’ay voulu que
 ‘le fruict de ce mien tel quel labour, fust recogneu de vous :
 ‘auquel je l’adresse et donne de bon cœur pour tesmoignage
 ‘de l’affection que j’ay de vous servir en plus grandes choses
 ‘à l’advenir. Ainsi plaise à Dieu m’en donner les moyens
 ‘avançant mes études, et vous conservant à vostre famille
 ‘et à vos amis. Ce 12. de Juin 1591.’

Mayerne-Turquet had a variety of materials to his hand for the compilation of his book. In addition to the *Guide*, there had appeared prior to 1591 the *Poste per diverse parti del mondo*, by Cherubin de Stella (Lyons, 1572), already referred to, *The Post of the World*, by Richard Rowlands (London, 1576), itself a translation from a German source which I have never been able to discover, and also partly founded, probably, on Stella’s Road-Book,¹ and including lists both of the Fairs

¹ Some light is thrown on the sources of information of which Rowlands made use by the explanation he gives in the dedication of his book to Sir Thomas Gresham, from which the following is an extract: ‘After that I had perused
 ‘thys small Pamflet, conteyninge a briefe collection of the most useal & accus-
 ‘tomable wayes, leadinge from the one notable Citie in Europe, to an other :
 ‘being written with no smal labour & industry, & not without great cause
 ‘very necessarily published in the high Almaine tongue, & the like also to
 ‘be seene in the French, & Italian. I thought it a thing very uncurteous,
 ‘& worthy of reproofe, to withhold so needefull a commoditie any longer
 ‘from our vouldare spech, whereby I was the more imboldened to the finishing

and of the current coins of the various countries of Europe, and the *Itinerarium Orbis Christiani*, or *Guide des chemins de tous les Pais de la Chrestienté* (1579), an atlas of 37 maps. There must have been other sources of information in Germany, mainly descriptive, but I have never found time and opportunity for an effective search for these materials, to which the German catalogues and topographical works do not appear to afford any very satisfactory clue.

There is one important German and Central European Road-Book, however, which falls just within the sixteenth century, namely, the *Kronn und Auszbundt aller Wegweiser*, published at Cologne in 1597. An earlier edition of this work may, of course, have furnished materials both to Rowlands and Mayerne-Turquet, but I have not found any trace of one up to the present. In the *Bibliotheca Geographica Germanica* of Paul Emil Richter, Leipzig, 1896, nothing in the nature of a road-book anterior to 1577 is recorded, except, possibly, one or two of doubtful date. The times have not been propitious of late years for the necessary researches in the libraries in Germany, and this must be my apology for not being at present able to carry the matter farther. It invites investigation.

The early part of the seventeenth century, it may be noted, was rather prolific in *Itineraria* by German publishers, which were in the main descriptive, though tables of roads are sometimes introduced. At all events the younger Mayerne-Turquet found adequate materials for his compilation.

The title of this work runs as follows : *Sommaire Description de la France, Allemagne, Italie et Espagne, avec la guide des chemins pour aller et venir par les provinces, et aux villes plus*

' thereof, at such times as I might best attend upon the same. I have moreover, ' set downe the antiquitie of many cities worthy of memory, & the founders ' of their auncient monuments, the which I have diligently collected out of ' sundry approved aucthors. . . . '

renommées de ces quatre regions. A quoy est adjousté un recueil des foires plus celebres presque de toute l'Europe. Et un traicté des monnoyes et leur valleur esdicts pays, provinces et villes. Plus trois tables tres-amplés: Le tout recueilli pour la commodité des voyageurs.

The first edition, that of the year of the dedication, is noted by Brunet as being of Geneva, but of this no copy has been found. However, as the second part of the volume of 1592 in the library at Strasburg, which has a separate title, is dated 1591, there can be no doubt that the whole of the original issue was of that year.

The Geneva reprint of 1592 is the second edition, and of this examples exist in the University Library of Strasburg and at Dresden.

The next impression known is that of Rouen, a textual reprint of the original from the press of Claude le Villain,¹ *Libraire et Relieur du Roy, tenant sa boutique dans la rue du Bec, à la bonne Renommée*. This is dated 1604, with the dedication re-dated in the previous year. Two copies of this issue are known to exist—one in the University Library at Lausanne and the other at Dresden. In the *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de M. Secousse*, published upon the occasion of the sale of the library of this collector (Paris, 1755), a copy of the *Sommaire Description* dated 1606 is recorded, and this may probably be a Rouen reprint. Another (in this case stated to be of Rouen and from the press of Claude le Villain) is noted in a cutting from a sale catalogue in the Rouen library, and also in the *Bibliothèque universelle des Voyages*, by Boucher de la Richarderie, Paris, 1808. This is dated 1615. Other impressions of the Rouen edition are of 1629 (two copies known, at Dresden and in the library of the author respectively) (Facs. XI) and of 1640 (a copy in the British Museum), and, finally, an edition of

¹ Claude le Villain was a Rouen printer from 1601 to 1643.

1642, attributed to the Rouen printer Clément Malassis,¹ is noted by Barbier.

No issues of the original Geneva edition between 1592 and 1618 are known. Four copies of the *Sommaire Description* of the latter date are in various collections. They are all printed by Stoer at Geneva, but in three cases no place of impression is given, the sale of books originating in the heretic city being seriously prejudiced in Catholic countries at that period. These copies are in the Library at Lyons, in the University Library, Cambridge, and in the library of the author, respectively. A fourth copy is in the British Museum, with *A Cologny* (*Colonia Allobrogum*) added in the imprint, in lieu of *Genève*, such designation of locality having been granted to the Geneva printers by Henry IV of France.²

No further copies of the *Sommaire Description* from the Geneva press are known except one of as late as 1653, preserved at Dresden.

It will be seen that the number of copies known, or noted,

¹ Clément Malassis was one of a family of publishers established in Rouen in the period 1602-82, who are said not themselves to have been actually printers. He carried on business from 1635 to 1682.

² In 1625 a dispute arose over the arrest in Lyons of an agent of the Geneva printers, and the following extract from the *Requête, mémoires et lettres à des députés envoyés de Genève pour faire maintenir la permission donnée par Henri IV de mettre sur les livres imprimés à Genève Coloniae Allobrogum ou Cologny* shows what was the issue debated between the printers and booksellers of the two cities: 'Les marchands libraires de Genève exposent que le roi Henri IV leur 'avait permis de mettre sur les livres qui s'impriment en notre cité le mot latin 'de Coloniae Allobrogum et de Cologni, pour, par ce moyen, éviter les 'scrupules et difficultés que faisaient des personnes d'acheter des dits livres 'sous le nom de Genève qui leur est odieux à cause de la religion. Mais les 'libraires de Lyon, pour abattre le peu de négoce de livres qui reste encore 'à Genève, ont obtenu depuis peu de temps qu'il n'entrerait aucun livre à 'Lyon, imprimé à Genève, sans le nom exprès de cette ville, sous peine de 'confiscation . . .'

This document is signed (amongst others) by Stoer. See *Études sur la Typographie genevoise du XV^e au XIX^e siècles*. Gaullieur, Genève, 1855, 8vo.

RECVEIL
DES PRINCIPALES
ET FRANCHES FOIRES
QUI SE TIENNENT TANT
au Royaume de France, Alle-
magne, Italie, qu'Es-
pagne.

*Avec quatre principales foires du pays de Tursquis,
& les postes depuis Lyon à Paris.*

Item vne table de la Feste de pasque, nombre
d'or, & lettre dominicale, iusques à l'an 1600, ,



IMPRIME L'AN

M. D. XCI.

X. From the copy at the University Library, Strasburg.

SOMMAIRE DESCRIPTION DE LA FRANCE, ALLEMAGNE ITALIE, ET ESPAGNE.

*Avec la Guide des Chemins & Postes, pour aller
& venir par les Prouinces & aux villes plus
renommées de ces quatre regions.*

*A quoy est adionsté vn Recueil des Foires
plus celebres presque de toute l'Europe.*


*Et vn traité des Monnoyes, & leur valeur,
Esdicts, Pays, Prouinces, & Villes.*



CMV-

May 1651

A R O V E N,

Chez CLAYDE LE VILLAIN, Libraire
& Relieur du Roy, rue du Bec, à
la bonne Renommée. 

M. D C. X X I X.

XI. From the copy at Odsey.

of the two issues of Geneva and Rouen of the *Sommaire Description* is only thirteen, and that but twelve copies actually exist, of which five are in England (two in the British Museum, two in the author's collection, and one in the Cambridge University Library). Of the remaining seven, four are at Dresden and one each at Strasburg, Lyons, and Lausanne. The rarity of examples of this work of Mayerne-Turquet is comparable to that of the *Guide* of Estienne, and arises from the same general causes. Eliminating duplicates, copies of only seven editions of the *Sommaire Description* are known to exist.

One other French road-book of the sixteenth century, to which I have already directed attention,¹ was published in two editions (1579 and 1587) in Paris, at the press of Gervais Mallot, with the title, *La Guide des Chemins d'Angleterre, fort necessaire à ceux qui y voyagent, ou qui passent de France par Angleterre en Escosse* (Facs. XII).

It is curious as being the only guide to the roads of England published in that century, although the principal highways are found set out in 'A litle treatise' and 'A brief treatise', published by Richard Grafton from 1571 onwards, and in the *Writing Tables* of Frank Adams of 1581 and subsequent editions,² and appear in more detail in Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande*, in 1577 and 1587, and in the *Particular Description of England*, 1588, of William Smith.

A list of the fairs was published in England as early as 1556, in Leonard Digges's *Prognostication Everlasting*, which is thought to be the first appearance in print, in this country, of such lists.

¹ See *Studies in Carto-Bibliography*. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1914, 8vo, at p. 120—'An Itinerary of the Sixteenth Century. *La Guide des Chemins d'Angleterre*. Jean Bernard, Paris, 1579.

² See *English Printed Almanacks and Prognostications. A Bibliographical History to the year 1600*, by Eustace F. Bosanquet, London, 1917, 4to.

LA CLUIDE
DES CHEMINS D'AN-
GLETERRE, FORT NECES-
saire à ceux qui y voyagent, ou qui
passent de France par Angleterre en
Escosse: ayant ordonné le chemin par
les mile, à la mode du pays, faisant
deux mile vne lieuë Françoisse.

*J'ay aussi rapporté certaines particularitez dign.
d'estre cogneuës à ceux qui passeront de ville en ville:
Avec le long & le large compas d'Angleterre, le nô-
bre des parroisses, Eglises, villes & Eueschez.*



A PARIS,
Chez Geruais Mallot, à l'aigle d'or,
ruë Saint Jacques.

1579.

Avec Priuilege du Roy.

I have not, in this communication, added an exact bibliographical description of these early Itineraries. They are all very small and vary much in shape. Such details can easily be supplied, but they would add to the length of my paper which does not seem to be desirable. What I have aimed at, as will be noticed, is rather an historical and literary description than a purely bibliographical study.

On pages 222, 223, and 224 will be found facsimile impressions of the text of Estienne (*Guide*, 1553) and of Mayerne-Turquet (*Sommaire Description*, 1618) to show the method adopted in the presentation of the details of routes and of the descriptive matter generally (Facs. XIII, XIV and XV).

I present to the student, in this way, a sufficiently exhaustive illustration of this bibliographical subject, which will, I hope, establish, once and for all, its character and such importance as it may fairly claim to possess.

I am indebted to the conservators and directors of the principal libraries at home and abroad for their assistance in my researches, and for the facilities which have been accorded me for the taking of the photographs necessary for the preparation of my plates. Those selected for publication here represent a choice out of the twenty-one plates of the full series already referred to, to which latter, as well as to the *Catalogue* itself, reference may be made.

DISCUSSION

In the course of the discussion on Sir George Fordham's paper Mr. Steele said that he was one of the few persons who had actually used one of these road-books and proved its value. Many years ago he had caused to be photographed the route-map of Matthew Paris (Nero, D. 1) and the pages of Estienne's *Guide des Chemins* which covered the route,

and, relying on the traditional character of Englishmen in France, had used and exhibited them as his guides. The distances were fairly accurate, much more so than the information he received from passers-by, and he was directed by Estienne to features that the modern guide-books entirely overlooked. For instance, on the road from Troyes, p. 81 (which Matthew Paris says is in Burgundy, though it was the capital of Champagne), Estienne notes at Fouchères 'Depart de Champaigne Bourgongne et Langres, par un petit ruisseau à main dextre, cheant en Seine'. At Villeneuve (past Bar) 'Bonne papeterie', at Neufville 'commencent les maisons estre couvertes de pierre dure et tenue'. At Gourteron 'Le goulet d'Augustine, lieu jadis dangereux de Brigands'. At Baigneux les Juifs: 'On n'y passe pas volontiers, qui n'y veut repaistre'—a saying I found still true. On the hills above Dijon, near Talant: 'Le chesne rond (dit Hault cerne) 'ou lon fait les justices, et de là void on en temps serain le 'mont Bernard et les montagnes d'Allemaigne', which I also had the good luck to verify. Between Châlons and Tournus there is Severe 'ou lon fait les tuppins noir'. I didn't know what they were, and no one in the place could tell me. All this information is cut out of Mayerne-Turquet's book, which is for those parts I have consulted taken directly from Estienne with omissions.

Le long boyau , plaine fertile , comme
petite beausse.

Iustuisi (Ius viri), ou Giuisi b ij l.

Passé la petite riuere d'Orge.

La borde le long de l'eau d. l.

La briqueterie. d. l.

Corbueil v. ch. (Anciennement dite

Corbolium. j l. R.

Ancienne ville, ioingnât laquelle passent
les riuieres de Seine & d'Estampes.

A Corbueil par eau.

Le pont charenton b. ij l.

Cloisy, (bac pour les corbuillars) ij l.

Villeneuve S. George b. j l.

Abblon, (sur Seine) j l.

Chastillon, (sur Seine) d. l.

Corbueil v. ch. ij l.

A Montlehery.

La banlieue j l.

Le Bourg la Roynie b. j l.

Le pont Antony j l.

Longjumeau b. p. ij l.

Linas b, (ou lon loge ordinairement. R.

Montlehery v. ch. ij l.

Laisse le à costé gauche, & voy l'ancien
chasteau du temps de Gânes, assis sus mon-
tagne apparente , memorable de la iour-
née contre les Bourguignons : s'appelloit
premiere

premierement Montlehery.

A Dammartin en Goelle.

La Villette, S. Ladre d. l.

Le Bourger j. l. d.

Le pont Yblon d. l.

Pren main droitte pour le plus court.

Le Mesnil ma dame Rance. b iij l. d.

Ville neufue sous Dammartin j l.

Dammartin b. ch. d. l. R.

Anciennement ville assise en croupe de petite montaigne, à l'opposite de Montlehery est maintenant comté.

A cheureuse.

Chastillon (ou Penfor f. j l.

Tillacoublay f. ij l.

Vault boyan d. l.

Monte la montaigne.

Saint Aulbin d. l. Sacle d. l.

La belle image m. q. l.

Saint Remy j l.

Cheureuse v. ch. j l. R.

Fut ainsi dite, pour l'abondance des cheures qui estoient en ce pays ou baronnie, pres laquelle y auoit vn chastel sur vn heurt appellé Haute fueille, qui fut basty par Grifon, dit de Haute fueille, predecesseur de Gannes; & s'y trouuent vestiges des armoiries de Gannes, & bastiment d'iceluy.

B 5

ANTHONY MUNDAY AND HIS BOOKS

By M. ST. CLARE BYRNE,¹

ANTHONY MUNDAY has sometimes been under-rated, but I have no wish to put in a claim for him as a long-neglected genius. If justification for this paper is needed I would rather base it on his inconvenient Jack-in-the-box habit of appearing suddenly in the midst of some respectable academic controversy, as if maliciously determined to introduce as many complications and uncertainties as possible. He has thus succeeded in compelling every now and again the more or less grudging consideration of the scholar, so that the results of an independent study of his career may have some interest. He was associated at one time or another with many of the finest dramatists of the age, he worked in collaboration with Dekker, Webster, and Middleton, and he seems to have been the chief writer of a play to which Shakespeare himself may have contributed. Independently, too, he has this claim to urge—that he was an Elizabethan of remarkable longevity—being eighty when he died—and that he moved all his life, as one might say, in the best circles—best, that is, in so far as the production of literature was concerned. He comes before us as an actor, prentice, poet, spy, journalist, recusant-hunter, pamphleteer, playwright, pageant-poet, antiquary, translator, citizen, and draper. The bare facts of his life provide us with an ‘Elizabethan document’ which more than repays study, and there is, finally, as I hope to show, intrinsic literary merit in some of his work.

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society, 20 December 1920. ’

In Munday's case there are no materials for a genealogical preamble. Like Joseph Andrews 'it is sufficiently certain that he had as many ancestors as the best man living', and with that we can be well content, knowing only of his father that he was named Christopher, that he was a freeman of the Drapers' Company, and that he died before 1576. Although Munday is a common name in the London parish registers of that time, no record of Christopher's marriage has yet been discovered, so that his wife's name is unknown, and the only information we have about her is that she survived her husband and was still living in 1581. No record of Anthony's birth has yet been traced, but he speaks of himself as 'a City child', and couples himself with his friend, the antiquary Stow, when speaking of 'this Royal City . . . birthplace and breeder to us both'. The year of his birth is known because, although his monument in St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, was burnt in the Great Fire, his epitaph is recorded in the 1633 edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, and states that he died on 10 August 1633, at the age of eighty. There appears, therefore, no reason to doubt that he was born in 1553.

As far as facts are concerned the first twenty years of his life are a blank. It is legitimate, however, in view of his tolerable facility as a translator, and his delight in the conventional Elizabethan habit of quotation from and reference to, the classics, to postulate for him some schooling, apparently good. Three of his manuscripts survive, and it is noticeable that he writes a good easy flowing hand. At some time or another—though almost certainly not during his boyhood—he was a pupil of one 'Claudius Hollyband, Scholemaister, 'teaching in Paules Churcheyarde by the signe of the 'Lucrece'. Hollyband was a teacher of French and Italian. He dates his *French Scholemaister* from 'Lewisham October 7th 1573', and speaks of his school. In his *French Littelton*,

1566 (1576) and 1578 he writes from his school in 'Paules Churcheyarde', and it is here, presumably that some time between 1576 and 1578 (i.e. most probably before Munday's journey to Rome in 1578) he was Munday's instructor in one or both of these languages. He speaks of him, at all events, as his 'scholler' in a piece of commendatory verse in French, prefixed to Munday's *Mirror of Mutability* in 1579.

There is only slightly more basis to build upon in dealing with those years of his youth immediately preceding his apprenticeship in 1576. It seems that at some time prior to this date he was an actor, but there is no unimpeachable or definite detail regarding his career as such. In 1576, however, there is the following entry in the Stationers' Register, under the Inrollments of Apprentices :

primo die Octobris 1576

John Aldee/Anthonie Mondaie sonne of Christofer Mondaye
late of London Draper Deceased hath put himself
app[re]ntice to John Aldee stationer for Eighte
yeres begynnyng at Bartholomewtyde laste paste.

(Arber, S.R. ii. 69.)

Munday must have been a somewhat elderly apprentice, as in the ordinary course of events a boy would have been finishing his term of service at twenty-three, the age at which he bound himself to Alde, the owner of the famous 'Longe Shoppe in the Pultry'. Possibly drapery had been previously tried, under pressure from Christopher Munday, to be forsaken with alacrity once the youth was free to follow his own bent ; or possibly when parental subsidies were at an end the precarious existence of an actor had to be exchanged for the comparative security of a business.

Fifteen months later he is again mentioned in the Register, when on 18 November 1577, there is entered to John Charlwood *The Defence of Pouertie againste the Desire of worldlie riches Dialogue wise collected by Anthonie Mundaye.*

(Arber, *S.R.* ii. 320.) With this pamphlet, of which no copy is known, he makes his literary début. It is amusing to note his use of the word 'collected': capable of original work, he seems to have had an almost mediaeval preference for plagiarism, and it is typical of his whole career that this firstling of his imagination should probably have been a mere collection of sententious apothegms culled from various writers.

It is at this point that his life begins to be interesting. Towards the end of 1578 he cancelled his indentures with Allde, and set out on his travels. Whether he went to Europe in search of a fortune or from some more definite motive, certain it is that his fortune found him; so that by what was apparently nothing but a stroke of luck, turned to the best advantage with journalistic promptitude, he managed to get an entry into the English Roman Catholic seminary at Rome, nominally as a likely convert, but actually as a spy to gather information that might be disposed of to the Government at home. It is only possible in this paper to give the briefest outline of his career, but there is so much amusement to be extracted from his *English-Romayne Lyfe*, which gives his own account of his adventures, that one cannot pass straight on. He has no qualms about exposing his own character, and evinces a naïve appreciation of his own duplicity. He has the most delightful journalistic euphemisms for a tip: the English ambassador at Paris, he says, 'bestowed his honourable lyberalitie vppon vs,' and three Englishmen whom they met at Milan 'both in cost and courtesie behaued themselves like Gentlemen ynto vs'. We get glimpses, too, of a not unattractive rascal. In his third chapter he gives an interesting account of the daily life of the students in the seminary, and describes the penances inflicted on the erring scholars who forgot to make their beds 'hansomlie' in the morning, or who otherwise neglected their manifold

duties. Perhaps the most ingenious of these torments was 'to stand vpright and haue a dish of potage before him on the ground, and so to bring vp euerie spoonful to his mouth'. At the end of the list he adds suggestively 'All these penances I haue been forced to do, for that I was always apt to breake one order or other'. Chapter six is also extremely entertaining. Munday seems to have managed to arouse the enmity of the Welsh head of the seminary, Dr. Maurice Clenocke, so that, as he admits himself, 'He could not abide me in any case.' Clenocke tried to get rid of him, but the English students took his part and Munday stayed on, until finally Clenocke complained to Cardinal Morone his patron. Munday would then have been turned out, had not the Jesuits obtained leave for him 'to lye in a very sweete Chamber, filled with old rusty Iron and all the trash of the house' for a fortnight. This chamber, Munday says, was haunted by a devil, and Clenocke evidently put him there in revenge, with the result that, as he writes :

'Euery night there was such a coyle among the old Iron, such ratling and throwing down the Boordes . . . [that] . . . I lay almost feared out of my wits, so that when I was layd in Bed I durst not stirre till it was fayre broad day, that I might perceiue euerye corner of my Chamber, whether the Deuill were there or no.'

Eventually, however, the devil was exorcised by the aid of holy water, and Munday relates that when he flung the water in the direction of the noise he also flung the stoup after it, and thereafter the devil troubled him no more !

Putting the case bluntly, Munday was a spy and seems to have been naturally fitted by his character for the part he played. What use, however, he made of his information on his return to England in 1579 is not clear. There is nothing to show that he was sent abroad as a Government spy ; nor, on the other hand, is there any evidence, save his own, to show

that he went abroad with the disinterested motives which he himself avouches—‘a desire to see straunge Countreies, as also affection to learne the languages’.¹ It is safest, and on the whole, most reasonable, to conclude that he was simply an enterprising journalist, ready for any ‘scoop’ that came his way.

Having thus brought himself to the notice of the Government as a useful fellow and one not over-nice of conscience he was employed in 1581 as a witness in the trials of Campion and other captured Jesuits, and was finally taken into some sort of definite Government employ from at least the year 1584, and probably even earlier. Munday in the witness-box is not an edifying spectacle. He was used, with others of his kind, to bolster up the Government’s fabricated charge of treason. Against Campion himself, according to all reports of the trial, he had next to nothing to say, but against those priests whom he asserts he saw at Rome he was voluble. In an account of the proceedings written by two Jesuits, John Fenn and John Gibbons, he gets what was probably no more than his deserts, in a marginal note against the narrative of the martyrdom of Robert Johnson :

‘Mundaeus producitur velut commune refugium quando
‘desunt veri testes et causa iusta.’

To be thus characterized as the usual last resource of the prosecution when no genuine witnesses could be obtained seems to have been no more than his due.

Every now and again details accumulate concerning his private life. From two pamphlets we know that in 1582 he was living in Barbican with his mother, and although the date of his marriage is not known it probably took place some time about this year. His eldest child was born in 1584,

¹ The genuineness of his original motives is perhaps supported by the fact that his companion, Thomas Nowell, became a convert to Romanism, and remained at the seminary when Munday returned to England.

and was christened at St. Giles, Cripplegate, on 28 June as 'Elizabeth Mundaye, daughter of Antonye Munday, gent.' During the next five years there are entries in the same register of the christenings of Rose, Priscilla, Richard, and Anne, and of the death of Rose at the age of three months. Again we are fortunate, this time in being spared a genealogical epilogue: except for a few facts about the son, Richard, Munday's posterity sinks into oblivion as completely as his ancestry. Both Munday and his son took up their freedom in the Drapers' Company,¹ the former in 1585 *per patrimonium*; and some time between 1582 and 1585 he left Barbican and removed to Cripplegate, where apparently he continued to reside until the end of his life.

From the time of Campion's trial until about 1592 Munday united the professions of literary hack and Government agent. Beginning as an informer he seems gradually to have become employed to ferret out cases of suspected recusancy, and finally to have become a 'messenger of her Majesty's Chamber', that is, a pursuivant, empowered to serve warrants and put people under arrest. He was a handy tool of the notorious Richard Topcliffe's, and he is mentioned by him in a letter to Sir John Puckering, the Queen's serjeant, as the person to whom the arrest of a certain Ralph Marshall had been entrusted. A curious point in this connexion is the fact that in the same year Munday dedicates the second part of his *Gerileon of England* to this same Ralph Marshall, and in his dedicatory epistle makes it evident that he was on terms of familiarity with both him and his wife, and had stayed at their house. It is perhaps hardly fair to draw any inference from this, but the inference, if drawn, would not appear to be to Munday's credit.

It is not possible here to do more than mention Munday's connexion with the Martin Marprelate Controversy, not

¹ I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Johnson for this information.

only as a pursuivant on the track of Martin and his travelling press, but probably also as a writer on the side of the bishops. I mention it, however, because the fact that he was one of the chief of Whitgift's officers from 1588 till 1590 has a slight bearing on another point to be dealt with later.

It is, perhaps, unfortunate for the reputation of Munday's dramatic work, that readers are apt to come to it by way of Ben Jonson's hearty gibes. Meres spoke of him in 1598 as 'one of our best for comedy' and then added specific praise by singling him out as 'our best plotter'. What exactly was involved by this 'plotting' it is not easy to say; but if one may judge from that portion of the play of *Sir Thomas More* in Munday's handwriting it would seem to imply at any rate the planning out of the material and the first draft of the entire story. Judging by the skill with which Munday manages to combine into a congruous whole the varied elements in his early play of *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, Meres's praise seems not unwarranted. The play is a pleasant fresh piece of work, with a real country atmosphere. Particularly noticeable is the way in which he manages to combine a really entertaining band of comic yokel characters with a romantic love story and with the Italian comedy motifs of disguise and of parental authority versus love. One has only to look at such a play as Greene's *James IV* to see what a vague idea even the best of Shakespeare's predecessors had of combining comic incidents with their story; but Munday not only works Turnop and his fellows into the fabric of his play with real skill, he also reveals in their prose scenes a genuine gift for humorous and natural dialogue. If, by 1594, Munday had written several other plays of this type and as good as this one extant specimen, there is no doubt that Meres's praise was in no way absurdly extravagant in 1598.

Of equal merit, but not so remarkable from the point of view of the development of the drama, are his two Robin Hood

plays, *The Death* and *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntington*. With *Sir John Oldcastle* they are the only three extant plays we have of the fourteen he wrote while working for the companies financed by Henslowe. In them he continues and elaborates the use of popular legend already begun in *John a Kent*. It is interesting to notice the form of the story which he uses: here, as elsewhere, Munday shows that he had a real instinct for what his audience of citizens and grocers' wives wanted: he raises the gallant yeoman to the hierarchy of bourgeois romance as Robert, Earl of Huntington.

Although little information regarding his non-extant plays can be gained from Henslowe's *Diary*, the inferences about his private life which can be drawn from the entries are significant. His finances must have been in a sorry state when we find him, only five days after he had earned £5 on the *Downfall*, borrowing 10s. from Henslowe on the security of the *Death*. Distinctly humorous, too, is the history of *Richard Coeur de Lion's Funerall*, as told by the brief entries in the *Diary*, although there may well have been a slightly grimmer aspect to it in the house in Cripplegate. The *Funerall* was begun by Robert Wilson the younger about 13 June, who on that date borrowed 5s. on it. Evidently his muse quickly proved unequal to the task, for on 14 June Chettle's aid was called in, and on the strength of this promised assistance Henslowe lent him 5s., 'in earneste of the booke,' and the next day advanced him yet such another sum. Two days later, after the hopeful collaborators have apparently cudgelled their brains in vain, 'our best plotter' is called in, and on the strength of this they all three promptly borrow 5s. each from Henslowe. Chettle and Munday had made enough progress with it by 23 June to be able to raise loans of 25s. and 20s. respectively. Inspiration failed them, however, on 24 June, and Drayton was added to the party:

he seems to have been a real acquisition, as Henslowe at once advances him 30s. After this they must have decided that the *Funerall's* credit was exhausted, because the next entry records that Wilson was paid in full for his part on 26 June, and after that nothing more is heard of the play, so presumably it was finished by their united efforts, and added to the repertory of the Admiral's men. Its history, however, gives us an amusing insight into the way that the wheels of Henslowe's drama machine went round.¹ As in August of the same year, Munday's credit with the players and Henslowe had sunk so low that not only was he unable to raise more than 10s. on an unwritten play, but also had to call in Drayton to guarantee its delivery within a fortnight, it is pleasant to record that on the first night of the playing of *Sir John Oldcastle* the position of these old friends had so improved that they actually received a bonus of 10s.

The later years of his life have not the interest of the early ones: from the time when he begins to subscribe himself 'Citizen and Draper' and occupies himself mainly with the business of City pageant-poet and with editing Stow's *Survey* the story undoubtedly grows duller. He would have been a much more effective figure if only he could have come to a violent end somewhere about 1600, instead of lingering on in a highly respectable old age, as 'servant to the City in sundrie employments'. His pageants are as dull as most, but they seem to have been an excellent source of income, when even a failure brought him in £45. Similarly with his edition of Stow: a municipal dedication proved financially valuable to the extent of £60, as is evident from an entry in the Guildhall Repertory, recording such a payment. From

¹ In case the 'apparently' and the 'seems' of this paragraph are not sufficient warning, honesty compels the admission that, if the history of the composition of the *Funerall* is sought for in all sober sadness, it is equally possible that all four were engaged on the play from the beginning.

this same source we get our only information concerning the last years of his life. In December 1623 Anthony Munday 'in consideration of his age and present wants' had 'granted unto him yearly, during his natural life, the nomination and benefit of one person to be made free of this Cittie by redemption'.¹ It would seem as if he had fallen on evil days, lingering on after his contemporaries. He died in 1633, and fate ironically accorded him an epitaph which is suggestively silent with regard to the facts which make his life and work of interest to-day, but confers upon him that crown of respectability after which he had so earnestly striven, commemorating him only as 'that ancient servant to the City Master Anthony Munday Citizen and Draper of London'.

In trying to determine the canon of Munday's works, amongst the problems that have had to be considered are the questions of his authorship of the Shepherd Tony poems, and of *Fedele and Fortunio*, *The Two Italian Gentlemen*, the question of his identity with Lazarus Pyott, the question of his authorship of *A Second and Third Blast of Retrait*, of *The Weakest goeth to the Wall*, and of two translations from the Dutch. As the first three of these have perhaps a slightly more general interest I shall concentrate on them, and then briefly consider the probable date of the play of *Sir Thomas More*.

There is, I consider, every reason short of absolute proof to attribute the Shepherd Tony poems of *England's Helicon* to Munday. On grounds of style there is more than sufficient evidence to justify it. Munday's acknowledged poems all go to prove that he had flashes of genuine lyric inspiration, although the greater part of his verse is very mediocre in quality. An impartial consideration of the seven poems in *England's Helicon* will lead the reader independently to a similar conclusion regarding the so-called Shepherd Tony. They are poems which would never have attracted any

¹ For this fact, also, I have to thank Mr. A. H. Johnson.

particular attention, had not one of them happened to be the exquisite 'Beauty sat bathing by a Spring'. It is difficult to see why those critics who have so stoutly denied the possibility of Munday's claim have not applied some of this energy to proving also that this poem could not possibly have been written by the same writer as the other six, which is only the inevitable corollary of their arguments. It is necessary also to remember that in his own day Munday had won high praise as a poet: Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetrie* is sufficient witness to his contemporary reputation:

'Anthony Munday, an earnest traueller in this arte, and in 'whose name I haue seene very excellent workes, among 'which, surely, the most exquisite vaine of a witty poetical 'heade is shewed in the sweete sobs of Sheeheardes and 'Nymphes; a worke well worthy to be viewed, and to bee 'esteemed as very rare Poetrie.'

Praise such as this certainly heightens the likelihood that some of his poems would be included in such a collection as *England's Helicon*, more especially as he seems to have been a friend of John Bodenham. The only real complication in the matter came to light recently when in 1919 a perfect copy of *Fedele and Fortunio* was discovered in the Mostyn Collection. This copy, by possessing the title-page and dedication missing in the Chatsworth quarto, showed that, apparently, both Collier and Hazlitt were unfaithful to the facts in giving the author of the play as A. M. instead of M. A. The question, therefore, comes to be: is Munday's supposed authorship of this play finally discredited by this discovery, and if so, what then is to be made of the fact that one of the Shepherd Tony poems is to be found in it as a song sung by Fedele to Victoria?

As the Mostyn quarto disposes of the question of Chapman's authorship of the play even more effectually than of Munday's, it will not be necessary here to enter into a refuta-

tion of that theory. It is conceivable that Munday might transpose his own initials, and perhaps, too, those of the patron of his work; but, as it stands, M. A. is an impossible signature for Chapman, even supposing the style of the play resembled his, which it does not.

In considering Munday's claim it should be premised that, although transposing of initials is not a likely or well-authenticated occurrence in Elizabethan literature, and that in none of his works at present known to us does he ever sign himself M. A., there is also the fact that he is certainly the most likely claimant, by reason of the play's early date, and because there is no more likely owner of those initials. Without wishing to over-emphasize points of style, it is only reasonable to notice two things: one, the fact that no less than 216 lines of the play are written in Munday's favourite six-line stanza, rhyming *ababcc*, of which there are examples in *John a Kent* and throughout his work; and the other, the decided resemblance between the mock-Latin of Crackstone in this play and that of the learned clown Turnop in *Kent*, as also their common use of the word 'pediculus' for 'school-master', and the similarity between their high-sounding 'cannibal' words. Another point which is perhaps worth mentioning is the resemblance between Medusa's song in this play when she enters with a pedlar's basket, and the song in Munday's play of the *Downfall*, when Jinny and Friar Tuck enter in a similar disguise, singing 'What lacke ye?' Aware of Munday's economical habits it seems to be more than likely that both these songs are his.

Another clue is perhaps furnished by Munday's bibliography, a glance at which will show that it was almost habitual with him to publish several works one after another with the same publisher. In view of this fact it seems to me significant that, of his three works published between the years 1584 and 1586, two should have been published by Thomas Hacket,

the publisher of *Fedele and Fortunio*, to whom also his *Banquet of Daintie Conceits* was entered in 1584.

There is, finally, the question of whom the patron of the work might be, if we suppose the writer to have been Munday. It does not seem to me likely that M. R. is a reversal of the initials of Sheriff Richard Martin to whom Munday dedicated his *Breefe and true reporte of the Execution of Certaine Traytours* in 1582. It is slightly more possible that they may be those of the Ralph Marshall to whom he dedicates his *Gerileon* in 1592, and with whom I suspect he may have been connected as early as 1582. A third possibility, which I am inclined to regard as the most promising, is that M. R. may be a transposition of the initials of Roger Mostyn, Lord Mostyn's ancestor. This Roger Mostyn, of Mostyn Hall, Holywell, Flintshire, was born in 1567, matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1584, was knighted in 1606, and died in 1642. He was descended from Adda ap Iorwerth Dda of Pengwern, who married Isabel, a sister of Owen Glendower. It seems to me curious that the unique autograph manuscript of Munday's play of *John a Kent* and one of the only¹ three known copies of *Fedele and Fortunio* should both have been preserved at Mostyn Hall: that the one should be dedicated

¹ There can be no doubt that the copy of the play which Collier saw and described was neither the Mostyn nor the Devonshire quarto, but a third specimen differing from them both. As the dedication which he prints agrees in substance, and almost literally, with that of the Mostyn quarto, it would be curious that he should have produced a mythical John Heardson, Esq., as the patron of the work, if there was an M. R. there already to be identified at once as Matthew Roydon. It is possible that in this instance it is Munday who is guilty of dishonest tinkering, and not Collier: he was certainly morally capable of dedicating the same work to two different patrons, if anything were to be gained by it. That on one occasion he changed his mind about a dedication and transferred it from some one unknown to Ralph Marshall of Carleton in Nottingham he avows himself in the epistle to his *Gerileon of England, Part II*. In view of his 'John Heardson' it would not be surprising, if, when Collier's copy again comes to light, it should prove to be signed A. M.

to M.R.; that the other should be written around the doings of a magician popularly supposed to be Owen Glendower and a Llewellyn Prince of Wales with both of whom the Mostyn family was connected by descent, and that it should be definitely stated to have for the scene of its action the very neighbourhood of Mostyn Hall in several of the scenes; and that, lastly, there should be definite resemblances of style between these two plays, unless they are the work of one and the same author, and that author Anthony Munday. I do not presume to suggest that I have 'proved', even to my own satisfaction, his authorship; but I suggest that to swallow so many coincidences all pointing to the same conclusion, and to strain at the simpler solution of Munday's probable authorship is unnecessary. To put the conclusion as undogmatically as possible, I should say that there is no positive evidence beyond the initials M.A. to discredit Munday's claim to this play and to the Shepherd Tony poems, and that these initials of themselves are not sufficient to cancel the cumulative evidence of these other points which I have brought forward.

To pass abruptly to the next problem suggested—the question of Munday's identity with Lazarus Pyott, while being extremely complicated, has not the same literary interest as the foregoing, and can therefore be dismissed more briefly. He is generally identified with him on the grounds that, because Book II of *Amadis de Gaule*, published in 1595 as translated by Lazarus Pyott, was incorporated in Munday's collected edition of the first four books published in 1619, that therefore Pyott was merely a pseudonym of Munday's, and that therefore Pyott's only other work, *The Orator*, was also Munday's. It has been pointed out by Dr. Henry Thomas that this line of reasoning is manifestly unsound, and that there is a very strong probability that Munday simply purloined another man's work. It is certainly

a reasonable inference from the following poem, signed H.C., prefixed to Munday's *Primaleon of Greece* (Part III) in 1619. that Munday and Pyott are two distinct persons :

Of the Translation, against a Carper.

Delicious phrase, well follow'd acts of glory,
Mixture of Loue, among fierce martial deeds,
(Which great delight vnto the Reader breeds)
Hath th'Inuentor kept t'adorne this story.

The same forme is obseru'd by the Translator,
Primaleon (sweet in French) keeps here like grace ;
Checking that Foole, who (with a blushles face)
To praise himselfe, in Print will be a prater.
Peace chattring Py, be still, poor Lazarus ;
Rich are his gifts that thus contenteth vs.

The play on the words in the last line but one leads to the obvious inference that Lazarus Pyott had recently made some adverse criticism of some production of Munday's ; if the poem is to be taken literally he had made some comparison, in Munday's disfavour, of their relative merits as translators, and this had appeared in print. Now the translation of Munday's that had immediately preceded *Primaleon* was the collected edition of *Amadis* ; it was at this presumably that Pyott had been carping. When, however, Dr. Thomas goes on to deduce from this that Munday had purloined Pyott's translation, and had been openly accused by him of the theft, I cannot see that the case warrants such an extreme statement. It is obvious that there are other alternatives which would account for the presence of Pyott's work in Munday's edition, and, also, that the poem does not say that it is rebutting a charge of theft, and would surely have been more vituperative if such had been the case.

My own distrust of Dr. Thomas's argument was heightened

when I found that he attributed this crucial poem, signed H. C., to Henry Constable. For Dr. Thomas's theory it is essential that this poem should have been written in 1619, between the publication of the collected edition of *Amadis* and that of this third part of *Primaleon* to which it is prefixed; but as Constable died in 1613 this is hardly possible! My own tentative suggestion is that the poem was written by Munday's old friend Henry Chettle, who also wrote a commendatory epistle for his *Gerileon* in 1592. As Chettle died in or about 1607 it would be necessary to postulate an earlier edition of this *Primaleon Bk. III*; and this, I think, it is possible to do. Books I and II were originally published by Burby in 1595 and 1596, and as Book III was entered to Burby's widow on 6 October 1607, it is quite possible that it may have been published then. Nothing is easier than for such an edition to disappear completely: it has happened, for example, in the case of Munday's first edition of *Palmerin of England*, published in 1581-2.

To summarize the conclusions arrived at after a detailed examination of the matter: in the first place, I do not consider there is any internal evidence in either of the two works signed Lazarus Pyott to make Munday's authorship unlikely, and the evidence of style, in so far as it goes, is in favour of it—one seems to be frequently tracking Munday in the snow of his favourite phrases. In the second place, there is on the whole more reason to suppose that the book would be Munday's rather than the venture of an unknown writer. Thirdly, it is curious that five cases of apparent anonymity on Munday's part all occur within the years 1595 to 1599, every single one of these books having some highly 'suspicious' element of one sort or another to distinguish it: fourthly, it is curious, if nothing more, that hitherto no other book of Pyott's and no mention of him has been traced in contemporary literature; and fifthly, that there are one or two discrepancies in the

statements which he makes about himself which make it impossible for us to do as Dr. Thomas asserts we should and take his statements at their face value.¹ In the absence of any conclusive evidence in favour of Pyott's existence it would be unsafe to assert that he and Munday can no longer be identified. Apart from the poem there is no real proof, and it may be possible to interpret this in some other way: although it does not seem to me a likely interpretation, Bolton Corney drew from the poem the impression that Chettle was twitting his old friend on his former pseudonym. The most, as I think, that can safely be said, is that it renders Munday's authorship of *Amadis Bk. II* and *The Orator* doubtful.

The problems of the play of *Sir Thomas More* were brought into prominence again recently when, in an article in *The Times Literary Supplement* in July of this year, Mr. W. J. Lawrence endeavoured to prove, firstly, that the play was acted and that the only existing manuscript is a prompt copy; and secondly, that it is possible to date it as early as 1589. My only excuse for promulgating an opinion on the matter

¹ All we know of Lazarus Pyott from his dedicatory epistles is that he was a soldier newly embarking on a literary career in 1595, with quite a good opinion of himself as a translator. These first two statements, Dr. Thomas considers, must be taken at their face value, and therefore make Munday's authorship an impossibility, as—so far as we know—he was never a soldier and had written some thirty books by this time. My own opinion of 'Pyott's' veracity is not encouraged when we find him in each case calling both his *Amadis II* (1595) and his *Orator* (1596) his first piece of literary work. The caution necessary in accepting any of Munday's statements warns one to be careful of accepting those of any of his Grub Street brethren, if there are any suspicious circumstances; so that, having found one 'inaccuracy' in Pyott's statements it seems to me that the internal evidence is more or less discredited. If we can adduce convincing external proof that Pyott is a separate individual, then these epistles give us so many details about him that may or may not be true: if it is possible to prove that Pyott is merely a pseudonym of Munday's, then these details are simply a part of his attempt to lend verisimilitude to 'an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative'.

and rushing in where even angels may very well fear to tread, is that thirteen pages of the manuscript are in Munday's handwriting. In the absence of any definite reasons or evidence to the contrary I consider it is legitimate to take this as equivalent to the fact of his authorship¹ of this portion of the play, which has thus been brought within the scope of my dissertation on his life and works. After being brought into touch with such a fascinating problem he would be indeed faint-hearted who set it aside without having made his own attempt to suggest a date for the play.

The details obtainable regarding Munday's career in the late fifteen-eighties and the first two years of the next decade make such an early year as 1589 an unlikely date for him. 1589 happens to be the year when the Marprelate controversy was at its height, and, as mentioned before, Munday was connected with the controversy as one of Whitgift's pursuivants and also probably as a writer on the side of the Bishops. There are various references to him in the tracts themselves, and in December 1588 there is a record of him at work in his capacity of pursuivant, in a long account of his arrest of a certain Giles Wiggington, a suspected Martinist. Similarly in 1589 it is evident from Whitgift's imagined address to his pursuivants in the Martinist tract, *The Just Censure and Reproof of Martin Junior*, that he was still one of the Archbishop's officers on the track of Martin and his travelling press. As we have already seen, he was also engaged during the years from 1584 until 1592 in hunting down recusancy under Topcliffe. In 1588 he dedicated his *Banquet of Daintie Conceits* to 'the worshipfull and his especiall good freend Master Richard Topcliffe', and in 1592 we know from the reference in Harleian MSS. 6998, p. 31, that he was still working under him. His own statements regarding his movements during these years are definite and by no

¹ i. e. authorship, more or less complicated by collaboration, in all probability.

means negligible. Taking 1588 as a downward limit and 1592 as an upward limit, the following significant references may be found in his books. In the epistle to his readers in his *Palladine of England*, published in 1588, he asks them to excuse its manifold faults 'for I beeyng often absent'; and in a similar concluding epistle adds, 'Diuers foule faults 'are escaped in the imprinting, in some places words mistaken '... and diuers others by mishap left out, and partly by 'want of my attendance to read the proues, beeing called 'away by matters of greater importance, and whereto I am 'bound by dutie of mine office.' Even more to the point is the statement he makes in his introductory epistle to his edition of *Gerileon of England*, published in 1592:

'Since my first entring on this Historie, to translate it: 'I haue been diuers and sundrie times countermanded by her 'Maiesties appointment in the place where I serue, to post 'from place to place on such affaires as were enioyned mee, 'so that not hauing fully finished one sheete, and the Printer 'beginning almost as soone as my selfe, I haue been greatly 'his hinderance, and compelled to catch hold on such little 'leasures, as in the morning ere I went to horse-back, or in 'the euening comming into mine Inne, I could compasse 'from companie. . . .'

Farther on, to the patron of his work, Master Ralph Marshall of Carleton in Nottingham, he says:

'At your house I wrote a sheete or two, and elsewhere in 'your companie, as occasion serued; and sithence in a long 'lingring journey I haue knit up the rest.'

And in a complimentary epistle prefixed to the same book Chettle further bears witness to Munday's frequent absences, and speaks of 'your late employment about her Maiesties affaires'.

It does not seem probable, on the face of it, that Munday is likely to have been occupied with the play of *Sir Thomas*

More during these years. In view of the perpetual conflict between the players and the civic authorities, and of the chance of coming 'up against' the censor with any play of this type, it is not likely that any playwright wrote in ignorance of a certain element of risk when dealing with matters even faintly and remotely political or topical. That Munday and any other mere playwright would have taken the risk on every occasion is probably true; but I very much doubt whether the astute pursuivant, characterized by Topcliffe as 'one that wants no wit' would have taken any such risk, however remote and slight.

There is also another small point in connexion with the authorship of the play which is, I think, unfavourable to an early date. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson has lately expressed himself as confident that Dr. Greg's attribution of *Hand E* to Dekker is correct. This possibility of assigning one of the additions to Dekker makes the fifteen-eighties again an unlikely date. Dekker was probably born about 1570—possibly even as late as 1577—which would make him a youth of not more than eighteen at most in 1589. The men who could enlist the craftsman capable of producing the famous 'Shakespearian' scenes would not be very likely to turn to a raw lad for help in such a critical moment, when, as Dr. Greg suggests, it was a case of all hands to the pump. There is no record of any literary or dramatic work done by Dekker prior to 1598, but the young man who was beginning to be known to the dramatic world in that year might quite well have been called in to help in an emergency about 1595 or 1596.

The second important objection to an early date for Munday's portion of the play, and therefore necessarily to the play with its additions, is based on the evidence furnished by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's detailed study of Munday's handwriting. A brief summary of his views will

quickly show their bearing on the question. On the impression derived from a general survey of the handwriting of *More* and *Kent* he considers that *Kent* is the earlier. A detailed examination of the formation of the individual letters then leads him to the conclusion that *More* can unhesitatingly be dated later because it shows the full development of peculiarities only hinted at in *Kent*. He shows, for example, that Munday's G appears frequently in *Kent* in a normal form, that a more cursive form also appears, and that in *More* a development of this cursive form—for the sake of greater ease and speed in writing—has completely ousted the more normal and elaborate form. On examining the third of Munday's manuscripts, *The Heauen of the Mynde* (dated 1602), he finds in the first place, that 'the style is the same 'as the style of the hand in *More*, and especially that among 'the capital letters the modifications which differentiate the 'letters G, P, and T in *More* from the examples in *Kent* are 'repeated in this MS., but not further developed'; and, in the second place, that this manuscript conveys the impression that the hand of the writer is ageing and losing vigour. He then naturally suggests that, from the known circumstances of Munday's life, we are justified in thinking that these modifications of his handwriting as seen in *More* might perfectly easily have developed in a few years.

The application of his examination, therefore, comes to this: that in 1602 Munday writes in a hand considerably older and weaker than in the play of *More*, and that *More* and *Kent* need not be separated in date by more than a few years. If *Kent* could be dated with any certainty, both an upward and a downward date limit would then be acquired for *More*. December 1596, the date at the end of *Kent*, added in another hand, is generally held not to be the date of composition. Nevertheless there is not a scrap of evidence to justify us in putting *Kent* back any farther than 1594,

unless, indeed, one adopts seriously a suggestion which Sir Edward Maunde Thompson himself makes but does not use, namely the fact that as *Kent* is written on Dutch writing paper, with a water-mark which can be dated 1585-99, Munday may have been writing this play as early as 1585. In 1602, however, Munday used southern French paper, known to have been used in Toulouse and Lyons in 1587-90, which rather destroys the plausibility of any such argument.

The most, as it seems to me, that can be said with any confidence on the evidence furnished by palaeography, is this: that *More* and *Kent* are much more nearly related than *More* and *The Heauen of the Mynde*. If, therefore, we accept Dr. Greg's identification of *Kent* with *The Wiseman of West Chester*, we have as our downward date limit the year 1594, and 1602 as the upward limit. Taking, then, Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's suggestion of 'an interval of two or three years' between *Kent* and *More*, we get, approximately, 1596-7 for the latter, leaving an interval of five to six years between *More* and *The Heauen of the Mynde*.

What other evidence there is tends to confirm such a date. Fleay has cited two historical parallels which are both in favour of a date subsequent to October 1595. He considered that the insurrection scene intended a topical reference to the prentice riots of June 1595, referred to in Maitland's *London*, and more explicitly in Stow, who writes:

'In the year 1595 the poor Tradesmen made a Riot upon the Strangers in Southwark, and other parts of the City of London. Whereupon was a presentment of the great Inquest for the said Borough, concerning the outrageous Tumult and Disorder unjustly committed there upon Thursday June 12 1595 and the Leaders were punished and also the chief Offenders. The like Tumults began at the same time within the Liberties where such Strangers commonly harboured. And upon the Complaint of the

'Elders of the Dutch and French Churches Sir John Spenser, 'Lord Maior, committed some young Rioters to the Counter.' Even more pertinent is his second parallel, which, he suggests, exists between the committing of Rochester for 'capitall contempt' (fol. 17 b), and the actual imprisonment in the 'Tower of the Earl of Hertford in October 1595. In a letter from the Queen to the Countess of Hertford, dated 5 November 1595, the offence is described as 'an act of lewd and proud contempt against our own direct prohibition'. It is certainly curious that Tylney should have required the excision of ll. 1247-75, unless there was some 'modern instance' to which they bore too close a resemblance for his cautious taste. Dr. Greg has reminded us that naturally such an incident as the insurrection scene in *More* is not necessarily topical; but it seems to me that from the censor's point of view there would have been no harm in the play unless this scene was too topical, and that there would have been no question of such rigorous excision unless it touched too nearly on actual and recent civic or political disturbances. Some light would seem to be cast on the matter by a letter in the *Remembrancia* from the Lord Mayor and Alderman to the Privy Council, dated 13 September 1595; objecting to plays, they write

'they move wholly to imitacon and not to the avoyding of
'those vyces wch. they represent wch wee verely think to be
'the chief cause . . . of the late stirr and mutinous attempt
'of those fiew apprentics and other srvants who wee doubt
'not driew their infection from these and like places'
(*Remembrancia*, ii. 103).

Now either this letter refers to a fresh outbreak of rioting perhaps in the month of September, in which case the censor would have a double reason for taking fright at an insurrection scene in a play, seeing the potency with which such things were credited by the authorities: or else it refers to the

June rioting, in which case it was still sufficiently fresh in men's minds to make a cautious censor still wary of such play scenes. Either alternative supplies Tylney with a reasonable motive. Given in a play, written somewhere about the last few months of 1595 or the first few months of 1596, which contains a good insurrection scene, also an incident which might conceivably have appeared to allude to the case of an important nobleman imprisoned in the Tower from October to January because he was endeavouring to have acknowledged the legitimacy of a marriage that might affect the succession to the throne, and about which the Queen felt very strongly, and I think it is not difficult to account for Tylney's excisions, which, in view of the fact that plays such as the *Life and Death of Jack Straw* were allowed to pass, would otherwise be more or less unexplainable.

One more allusion that seems to point to 1595-6 must also be mentioned. It was noticed by Mr. Percy Simpson in his discussion of the play in *The Library* for January 1917. He shows that Jack Faulkner's complaint, 'Moore had bin better a scowrd More ditch than a notcht me thus', when More orders him to have his shaggy hair cut, may well be pointed at the scouring of Moore-ditch in 1595. Stow records that in this year the small portion of the town ditch between Bishopsgate and Mooregate 'was clensed and made 'somewhat broder, but filling againe very fast, by reason of 'overraysiaing the ground neare adioyning, therefore never 'the better'. As Mr. Simpson suggests, 'the allusion would 'have point just before the scouring or just after the 'failure.'

To return to Munday: so far as he is concerned, and remembering that 1597-1602 is the period of his greatest dramatic activity, it is most reasonable to demand 1595-6 as the most possible date for *More*, when that date is supported also by various other items of evidence. Being uncon-

vinced by Mr. Lawrence's statements about composition, rehearsing, and prompt copies, I do not feel that the only unimpeachable item of evidence which he brings forward, namely the entry of the name of the actor Goodal against the part he was to play, is sufficient to warrant us in scrapping the above, which all favour a later date. I would suggest, therefore, on these grounds, that, until some more positive facts are forthcoming, it is reasonable to maintain that *More* was 'plotted' by Munday, and perhaps written and revised under much the same conditions as *The Funerall of Richard Coeur de Lion*, in the winter months of 1595 to 1596.

Such a digression has perhaps taken us a little way from Anthony Munday, but at this point, having tried to justify the devoting of this hour to him by showing that he is involved in questions, such as this of *Sir Thomas More*, which have a wider interest, I should now like to turn to a brief consideration of the intrinsic merit of his plays and his prose work, and justify it on this ground as well. His prose work has been even more generally neglected than his dramatic productions, and with equally little reason. Whereas he is generally dismissed with a contemptuous reference as one of the many imitators of Lyly's *Euphues*, the truth is that not only is his novel decidedly more interesting than Lyly's more famous work, but it is also a definite stage farther on in the history of the evolution of the English novel. There is a verve and a sprightliness about the conversation, and a mastery of dialogue that gives it a great advantage over Lyly's pointed but unnatural and often stilted wit. Munday has also a far better idea of telling a story; the second of the three parts of his book is a good story of adventure, told with considerable gusto and spirit, and though savouring strongly of knight-errantry and Munday's romance-reading, is redeemed from any dullness by the character of the hero, who bears a suspicious resemblance to Munday himself, and is

original enough to manifest a strong unwillingness to risk his life in rescuing the lady!

In his *Englishe-Romayne Lyfe* Munday gives us an autobiographical fragment at once simply written in a good, easy, straightforward narrative style, graphic, vivid, interesting, and amusing. The smug satisfaction with which he regards his own exploits as a spy, and the implied tributes which he pays to his own ingenuity in dissembling and lying, create for us a feeling of character as realistic and as complete as ever we get from Jack Wilton or from Greene's death-bed repentances. Munday in his own crude way manages to anticipate something of the method of *Jonathan Wild* and of *Barry Lyndon*. As in few other prose works of such an early date as 1582 the dialogue is extremely natural, and as in *Zelauto* gives the effect of actual conversation in a way that is never attained by *Euphues*. Often, too, he anticipates the familiar style that has been so justly praised in Nashe's mature work. Unlike Nashe, however, his style has in it nothing of the extravagant or boisterous, and he is in every way his rival in his use of the paragraph as an aid to the clearness of his story.

In 1580 Elizabethan prose fiction had barely come into being. Even *Euphues* has no hint of a story told for its own sake. Realism and the power of characterization belong to the last decade of the century—to the work of Nashe and Deloney. But in Munday's two unduly neglected prose works of 1580 and 1582 all these elements are already to be found, and what is more, he can be realistic without being merely animal or dirty.

Munday is also of more importance in the history of the development of Elizabethan drama than seems generally to have been allowed. Hitherto Lyly and Greene have shared the honours as Shakespeare's predecessors, but Munday's plays of *John a Kent* and *Fedele and Fortunio* demand that he should be ranked with them. In these two early plays of

1584 and 1594 he manifests a sense of dramatic construction, a feeling for good dialogue, an appreciation of native settings and native characters, a capacity for the free use of certain elements of Italian comedy, and the power to combine popular legend with romance or history. Greene has the advantage over Munday in his characterization of women, and probably in a certain priority of date. Lyly has the advantage of him in the matter of wit and repartee; but in these other respects enumerated Munday sometimes outrivals them both and generally equals them. He has unjustly, I think, been denied the praise that is due to the pioneer. Greene and Lyly were never forced into competing with that wonderful first decade of the next century; but Munday was contemporary with so many generations that one forgets to rank him, so far as these early plays are concerned, with these others who died in time to make sure of their fame as Shakespeare's predecessors.

Munday seems to have been fated to strike out in new lines only to show the way to other writers, and then to watch them outstripping him, instead of achieving himself. It is the same with his prose as with his plays: he had in his composition a formidable rival to both Nashe and Deloney, but after having given promise of it as early as 1582 he turned instead to journalism. He could have written an 'Elizabethan novel' that would have rivalled their best work in point of style, composition, and interest; and instead he devoted himself to the translation of *Amadis* and *Palmerin*, and to the business of city-pageant poet. His almost incredible voluminousness becomes more than aggravating if the imagination is allowed to dwell upon that unwritten novel. But even as it is, both *Zelauto* and *The Englishe-Romayne Lyfe* are of importance in the history of the antecedents of the novel; and there is, perhaps, even some profit for us in a perusal of a portion of his dreary and interminable moraliz-

ings and his wretched pamphlets. With his ballads and his romances these religious treatises and political catch-pennies formed the greater part of the ordinary reading of the men of his time. There is little use in imagining either the idle or the industrious apprentice as turning for his recreation to the reading of *King Lear* or *Much Ado*; they both probably spent their twopences and threepences on the *Taking of Campion* or *The Englishe-Romayne Lyfe*, and enjoyed the *Watchwoord to England* and *The Dumble Diuine Speaker*. It would be superfluous to draw the obvious parallel to-day.

So far as character is concerned Munday is his own best biographer. We are continually getting sidelights on it from his books. The whole of the *Englishe-Romayne Lyfe* is full of autobiography and confession, and *Zelauto* has a strong personal flavour at times. Surely Zelauto's story of his encounter with banditti near Naples is reminiscent of Munday's own similar adventure with disbanded mercenaries near Boulogne :

'When I was come thyther I knew not what to doo, because
'I was freendlesse, moneylesse, and dispoyled out of my
'garments. At last, having espyed an Osteria I boldly
'entered, putting myselfe in the hands of God, to whome
'I referred the paying of my charges.'

Impecunious he may have been, but he was certainly no loiterer on the primrose path of Bohemianism. Especially in the later years of his life, those glimpses which we have of him show him busily engaged in picking up all the crumbs he can. There is an entertaining extract from the ledger book of the Fishmongers' Company, concerning the pageant *Chrysanaleia*, which he wrote for them in 1616.

'Court. 9 Dec. 1616.

'Anthony Munday, the poett, gratified. At this court
'Anthony Munday did exhibit his petition, to have some

'gratification gyuen him for cc books of the late shewes and 'speeches at the presentment of the Lord Maior, more than 'he agreed to deluyer them, and for lynks and for spoyling 'the silk cotes which the halberdiers did weare, losing their 'badges, and other things mentioned in a bill exhibited by 'him, for which he seith he doth desire to have Xli. in 'recompense. And vpon consideration had of the particulars 'of his bill, it is agreed that he shall 'haue Vli. xvs. gyuen 'vnto him, which he is content thankfully to accept in full 'satisfaction of all his demands.'

He evidently knew how to send in a bill with a safe margin to allow of cutting down.

The impudent innocence of his defence of the part he played as a Jesuit spy is very characteristic; but it does not equal the pious snuffle with which he defends himself and the other witnesses at the Campion trial. Quoting from a French pamphlet its description of them as 'all of very base condition' and 'so well seene in lyes that they seemed to be borne and nourished therein', he replies sanctimoniously:

'As for our baseness or simpleness, we will not stande to 'contend with him: though we know we haue all one father, 'and that we are all made of one mettall. Againe we know, 'God hath chosen the despised of the world, to cōfoūd 'them that thinke themselues moste mighty.'

At such irreproachable sentiments the shade of Pecksniff turns green with envy, and it is amusing to notice that in his translations of the Amadis and Palmerin romances he anticipates the lamented Mr. Bowdler. Citizen and Draper seems to have been the summit of his ambition: for him as for David Copperfield there was an 'Agnes ever pointing upwards', but Munday's Agnes was named Respectability.

As a result there has gathered around Anthony Munday none of the attraction of the Marlowe legend: he has no picturesque accessories. What legend there is has been

begotten by Criticism on Insufficient Knowledge, and the offspring is Dullness—a 'dismal draper with misplaced literary ambitions'. Browning would have enjoyed Munday however: he was no genius, but he was certainly a person of importance in his own day. I am very conscious that to make him as interesting to others as he has been to myself would have required the interpretive capacity of the author of the *Parleyings*, and perhaps some such method; in self-exculpation, therefore, I can only quote Munday himself: 'You can haue no more of a cat but her skin, nor of me more then I am able to do.'

DISCUSSION

In the course of the discussion, Mr. Greg, after congratulating Miss Byrne on her most interesting paper, added a few remarks on *Fidele and Fortunio* and *Sir Thomas More*. He has supplied the following notes:

Collier quoted the dedication of *Fidele*, but gave the addressee as 'Maister John Heardson, Esquier' and the writer as 'A. M.', whereas in the Mostyn copy the former appears as 'Maister M. R.' and the latter as 'M. A.' Since no reason can be suggested why Collier should have invented a wholly unknown John Heardson, we must, I think, assume that the dedications vary. It is, however, for obvious reasons less likely that they should vary in the name of the writer than in that of the addressee, and it is still possible that Collier may have reversed the initials to make them fit Munday. It would appear, however, that Hazlitt, as well as Collier, had seen the now missing copy, for in his *Handbook* he not only mentions the Heardson—A. M. dedication (referring to Collier) but likewise 'a Prologue spoken before the Queen, consisting of two 6-line stanzas' which Collier does not mention, but which is now known to exist. Unless, therefore,

Hazlitt had access in 1867 to unpublished information of Collier's, the 'A. M.' signature must be genuine, and the reversal of the initials is not a speculation but a fact. This would greatly strengthen the case for Munday's authorship, and render quite plausible the suggestion that the initials 'M. R.' are also reversed.

In considering the date of *More* there is one palaeographical clue that has not yet been followed. Hand C of *More*, that of the playhouse reviser, is also found in the plot of the *Seven Deadly Sins* belonging to Strange's men, c. 1591, and in the fragmentary plot of an unidentified play belonging to the Admiral's men not later than 1598. Since, of course, the writer worked on *More* while still with the Strange-Chamberlain company, the date of his joining the Admiral's, if ascertained, would give us a *terminus ad quem* for *More*. The two most likely occasions of his transferring his services would be in the spring of 1594, when Alleyn and probably others left the Chamberlain's and refounded the Admiral's company, or in the autumn of 1597, when there was a further reconstruction of the latter company. On general grounds the former occasion would be the more probable, since the two companies concerned were then brought into direct relation, and probability would be raised almost to certainty could it be shown that the fragmentary plot was before October 1597. This, however, does not seem feasible: though the evidence is not conclusive, the fact that two of the cast mentioned also appear in the plot of *Alcazar* after the reconstruction, but not in that of *Frederick and Basilea* shortly before it, points to 1598 as the more likely date.

THE PRINTING OF FIELDING'S WORKS

By J. PAUL DE CASTRO

No fine set speech, no cadence, no turn'd periods,
But a plain home-spun truth.—Dryden's *All for Love*, Act 4.

IN the issue of *The Library* of July 1916 (Third Series, No. 27, Vol. VII, pp. 177-90) there appeared an article by Mr. Austin Dobson portraying the business relationships once subsisting between Henry Fielding (1707-54) and the publisher Andrew Millar (1707-68).

It is here proposed to take the inquiry a step farther and exhibit specific details of the printing-work performed by William Strahan (1715-85) for Andrew Millar, as Fielding's publisher.

Strahan's ledgers, posted in his own hand, are still extant, and for the purposes of a paper, 'Henry Fielding's Last Journey,' contributed to *The Library* in April 1917, their examination became a matter of moment. But the investigation remained unaccomplished, for on making application to Messrs. Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., Ltd., Strahan's successors,¹ I was informed that the ledgers were in Leipzig, whither they had been sent to the Printers' Exhibition as documents of historical interest. When the ledgers were lately returned to their proper custody, the directors very courteously invited me to take such extracts from them as I was minded, and for the permission and facilities accorded I beg to express my gratitude.

¹ *The Story of a Printing House, being A Short Account of the Strahans and Spottiswoodes*, 2nd ed., 1912.

The first book that made Fielding's permanent reputation, *Joseph Andrews*, appeared in 1742. Though published by Millar it was printed by Henry Woodfall of Paternoster Row, and the following unpriced details from the ledgers of that famous newspaper-printer were made public in *Notes and Queries* of 2 June 1855 :

Woodfall's Ledgers, 1734-1747.

Feb. 15, 1742. History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews etc., 12mo. in 2 vols., no. 1500 with alterations.

May 31, 1742. The 2nd ed. of Joseph Andrews, 12mo., 2000 27 shts.

The first edition was published 22 February (*Daily Post*), and the second in August (*Gent. Mag.*, p. 448), and between the printing of the first and second editions, i.e. on 13 April, the author assigned his copyright for £183 : 11 : 0 to Millar. The original conveyance, drafted throughout in Fielding's own hand, is preserved in the Forster Collection of manuscripts at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

In 1743 an illustrated edition was put in hand, by which time Millar had transferred his printing to Strahan, as the following entry on folio 39 from the recently inspected ledgers testifies :

Feb. 20, 1743. For printing the Adventures of Joseph Andrews

20 sheets small pica 12mo, no. 3000, @ £2 : 5 : 0 per sheet £45 : 0 : 0

This third edition, with 12 cuts from the copper by J. Hulett, was published 24 March (*St. James's Evening Post*). In little over a year 6,500 copies of this famous 'epic of the road' were distributed.

On 3 June 1742 Woodfall had printed '700 proposals for Mr. Fielding' (*Notes and Queries*, supra). These were invitations to the public to patronize his projected *Miscellanies*, as the *Daily Post* two days later announced : 'This day are publish'd Proposals for printing by Subscription MISCELLANIES 'in Three Volumes Octavo by Henry Fielding Esq.' After enumerating their proposed contents—the third volume was

to contain that masterpiece of satire, the 'History of Jonathan Wild'—the advertisement states that the volumes will certainly be delivered by 25 December. The serious illness of his wife, however, defeated Fielding's purpose, and the next relevant entry in Strahan's ledger runs:

April 2, 1743. For printing the first vol. of Fielding's Miscel-

lanies 26½ sheets pica 8°, no. 1000 coarse and 200 fine, @

£1 : 2 : 6 per sheet

£29 : 16 : 0

The three volumes were published 7-12 April (*London Daily Post*), the printers of the second and third volumes still remain unidentified. A later issue, called a second edition on the title-pages, was advertised in the same month, but it was the residue only of the original impression with new title-pages and the omission of the subscribers' list. Originally 'Printed for the Author : and sold by A. Millar opposite to Catherine Street in the Strand',¹ the new title-pages became 'Printed for A. Millar'.

In November 1744 Fielding lost his wife, and in the following year his activities were requisitioned by the Government in the pending struggle with the younger Pretender. Fielding, a consummate propagandist, made his influence on the fortunes of the Rebellion first felt by the production of a shilling pamphlet posted by Strahan thus :

Oct. 1745. For printing a Serious Address to the People of Great

Britain 3 sheets English octavo, no. 3000, @ £1 : 17 : 0 per sheet

£5 : 11 : 0

This entry in an account between Strahan and Millar comes as a surprise, because the title-page of the *Serious Address* states it to be 'Printed for M. Cooper at the Globe in Paternoster Row'. Millar's motive in enlisting the co-operation of Cooper probably lay in the fact that being the close friend of James Thomson and other distinguished Scotchmen,

¹ See an article, 'Over against Catherine Street in the Strand,' *Notes and Queries* for 23 October 1920.

and as the son of an aged father residing in Paisley,¹ he thought it prudent not to identify himself too closely with Fielding's attack on his fellow-countrymen. Although Strahan was every whit as Scotch there existed at that date no Act compelling printers to affix an imprint to the products of their presses.

The next item supplies a few details of a pamphlet of which no copy is known :

Oct. 1745. For printing the *History of the Rebellion* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ sheets,
no. 1500 @ 22/- £3 : 6 : 0

The reasons for the ascription of this *History* which contemporary advertisements stated to be also published by Cooper and priced one shilling, will be found in Cross's excellent *History of Henry Fielding*, 1918, iii, at p. 311.

Under the same date follows :

For printing *Dialogue between Devil Pope and Pretender* ²
2 $\frac{3}{4}$ sheets, no. 500 £2 : 2 : 0
For 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ reams of Paper for Do. 11/6 £1 : 11 : 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

This *Dialogue*, now scarce, was published on 5 November as announced in the *True Patriot* newspaper which Fielding was launching.

The *Serious Address* was a notable success, the 3,000 copies being immediately absorbed. Fielding's ringing appeal was well calculated to sting England into energy at a time of imminent national danger. In the same month Strahan supplied the demand for further copies :

For printing the 2nd ed. of the *Serious Address* 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ sheets, no. 1000 £2 : 19 : 6
For over running a sheet of Do. for the first impression, no. 500 10 : 0
For half a ream of Paper for Do. 5 : 9

¹ Barbauld, i. 144.

² Apparently a current phrase. 'Duke St. Westminster, 4 Feb. 1744. 'I write to you amidst the terrors of the Devil, the Pope and the Pretender; the French Fleet is said to be near our shores. . . .'—Fifth Earl of Orrery to his Countess. *The Orrery Papers*, 1903, ii, p. 181.

Those who have compared the first and second editions will know that Fielding augmented the latter with, 'A Calm Address to all Parties in Religion, whether Protestant or Catholic, on the score of the Present Rebellion.'

The 'over-running' presumably necessitated replacing some of the work in 'the sticks', but if due to a printer's blunder why was Millar mulcted?

The next item is also a lost Fielding pamphlet, the title suggesting a humorous piece, but whether of a political cast is undetermined.

Nov. 1746 (fo. 59). The Female Husband 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ sheets pica 8°, no. 1000 £2 : 2 : 0
For 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ reams of Paper for Do. @ 11/- £1 : 18 : 6

The full title of this fugitive piece, which was sold at 6d., ran, 'The Female Husband; or, the Surprising History of Mrs. Mary alias Mr. George Hamilton, convicted of marrying a young woman of Wells.' Reasons for attributing it to Fielding are given in Cross's *Fielding*, iii, at p. 313.¹ That it 'took' may be gathered from the next entry:

June 1747. For casting off 250 more of Do. 5 : 0
For 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ quires of paper for Do. 9 : 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

The next pamphlet entered under the same date had a famous vogue politically in its day:

For printing Dialogue between Gentleman and Alderman six sheets, no. 3500, @ £2 : 2 : 0 per sheet £12 : 12 : 0
For drink money to the men

The demand was so pressing that the compositors had to be stimulated, and a further batch was required:

July 1747. For reprinting Dialogue six sheets, no. 1000 @ 17/- per sheet (deducting 18/- for 2 sheets standing) £4 : 4 : 0

Cross's statement that the second edition was published on 19 December can scarcely be substantiated, although advertised on that date (as to remainders probably) in the *Jacobite's Journal*, a newspaper Fielding had launched on 5 December.

¹ See note at end.

The next entry is certainly an arresting one, for it shows that Fielding's original plan, and that, too, when the novel was unquestionably some way advanced, was to publish *Tom Jones* by subscription.

Nov. 1747. Receipts for Mr. Fielding's Foundling, no. 250 with
paper

7:6

Tom Jones notwithstanding, politics still made inroads into Fielding's time. Early in December an anonymous pamphlet appeared purporting to be a confession of strong Jacobite leanings, if not of downright treachery, found among the papers of Thomas Winnington, Paymaster of the Forces, who had recently died. It was so manifestly a forgery, published for insidious purposes, that Fielding rose to arms at once as Strahan's next entry shows :

Dec. 1747. Answer to Apology for 2nd Rate Minister 3 sheets,
no. 500 @ 14/-

£2:2:0

The full title ran, 'A Proper Answer to a late Scurrilous 'Libel entitled An Apology for the Conduct of a late celebrated Second-Rate Minister,' and opened with the trenchant sentence, 'When popery without a mask stalks publicly 'abroad, and Jesuits preach their doctrines in print, with 'the same confidence as when the last popish prince was 'seated on the throne, it becomes high time for every man, 'who wishes well to his country, to offer some antidote to 'the intended poison.' It was published 24 December, and it appears to have commanded attention, for Strahan next enters :

Jan. 1748. 2nd ed. of Answer to Apology 3 sheets, no. 500

£1:14:0

Joseph Andrews was a good seller, as the next entry proves :

June 1748. Joseph Andrews 20 sheets, no. 2000, @ £1:16:0
per sheet

£36:0:0

This, the fourth edition, was Millar's venture only and brought no money to Fielding. Cross tells us that it was published

on 5 November 1748 and was dated 1749.¹ After the *Answer*, written in defence of Winnington, nothing direct from Fielding's pen is entered for a year, when, on folio 65, we alight on one of the English classics :

Jan. 1749. Foundling 81 sheets, no. 2000 with many alterations,

@ £1 : 15 : 0

£141 : 15 : 0

The first edition of *Tom Jones*, in six volumes, was published on 28 February. What proportion of six volumes the above represents is not evident. The demand was so great that a second edition was at once put in hand, and so pressing that the work was parcelled out among several printers. This appears to be the inference from the next entry :

Feb. 1749. Foundling 2nd ed. 18 sheets, no. 1500 @ £1 : 6 : 0
per sheet

£23 : 8 : 0

Cross is of opinion that the second edition appeared on 13 April. Millar had acquired the copyright so far back as 11 June 1748 for six hundred pounds, and he no doubt had a remarkable bargain, for the second edition was evidently soon exhausted :

March 1749. Foundling 3rd ed. small pica 55 sheets, no. 3000

@ £2 : 6 : 0 per sheet

£126 : 10 : 0

Cross states the third edition to have been published on the same day as the second, i. e. 13 April (*Fielding*, iii. 317). If this be so I am not a sufficient bibliographer to explain Strahan's next entry on folio 71 :

June 1749. Composing a sheet of the Foundling an imperfection

12 : 0

Early in December 1748 Fielding had been appointed a magistrate for the City of Westminster, and a few months later a magistrate for Middlesex, greatly enlarging his jurisdiction. So competent did he prove himself that in May 1749 he was appointed chairman of the Westminster Sessions.

¹ During the year 1748 Strahan removed from Wine Office Court to New Street.

In the following month it became his official duty to charge the Grand Jury, and in accordance with the usual custom he was requested by the Jury to have his charge printed, but what is most unusual the charge has lived and has always been regarded as a model one. These few facts explain Strahan's next entry :

July 1749. Fielding's Charge to the Grand Jury 4½ sheets, no. 750,
 @ 16/- £3 : 12 : 0
 Extraordinary corrections in Ditto 7 : 6

Meanwhile *Tom Jones* increasing in fame and demand, Strahan's presses had once again to meet the public requirements :

Sept^r. 1749. Foundling 4th ed. 55 sheets, no. 3500, @ £2 : 11 : 0
 per sheet £140 : 5 : 0

The fourth edition, bearing date 1750, was published 12 December 1749 (*St. James's Evening Post*). Thus in less than one year ten thousand copies of Fielding's great novel were distributed.

In the same month Strahan printed a second legal tract from Fielding's pen :

Fielding's account of Penlez 3½ sheets, no. 1000, @ 18/- per sheet £3 : 3 : 0

The full title of this shilling pamphlet was 'A True State of the Case of Bosavern Penlez who suffered on account of the late Riot in the Strand in which the Law regarding these Offences, and the Statute of George the First, commonly called the Riot Act, are fully considered.' During the first three days of July a serious riot, accompanied by the complete destruction by fire of three houses, had taken place, and Penlez, a very young man, who was discovered with goods upon his person stolen from one of the houses in question, had been executed in due course of law. A public outcry, especially denouncing George II for signing the death warrant, then followed. Those who have studied the litera-

ture for and against the extremity of the law being resorted to, must admit that Penlez's case was a hard one, having regard to the fact that all the ringleaders and prime offenders were unapprehended. The Government's action had, however, to be defended, and Fielding, who had taken the depositions and committed Penlez for trial, entered the field. That Penlez's conviction was inevitable is pretty clear from the evidence, but Fielding thought the punishment justified also. When there existed no organized police force to check inchoate crimes, sentences for completed crimes aimed at being deterrent as well as punitive, and Fielding, answerable for the good order of that part of the metropolis, could scarcely be expected to take a lenient view of the case. Fielding's exposition of the Law of Riot is still worth reading, and that the tract circulated widely is to be gathered from Strahan's next entry :

November 1749. Fielding's Account of Penlez 2nd ed., no. 1000

deducting for $3\frac{1}{2}$ sheets standing

£2 : 11 : 0

This edition appears to have been published on 18 November (*St. James's Evening Post*).

Fielding, the only metropolitan magistrate with a legal training, was now sufficiently experienced in his arduous office to be able to form definite opinions respecting the criminal classes. Having come to the conclusion that the criminal code too often failed in its objects, and its machinery was so cumbrous as not only to deter prosecutors from seeking their just remedies, but often to serve to assist rather than check thieves and scoundrels, he set down his views (which he dedicated to Lord Hardwicke) for the consideration of the public. Consequently early in the following year Strahan had a manuscript of some length to set up :

Jan. 1750 (folio 78). Fielding on Robberies 9 sheets, no. 1500 @

£1 : 8 : 0 per sheet

Extraordinary corrections in Do. and 5/- to the men

£12 : 12 : 0

£1 : 12 : 0

No sooner was the type dispersed than it had to be reset :

Feb. 1750. Fielding on Robberies 2nd edition, 10 sheets, no.

2000, @ £1 : 13 : 0 per sheet

£16 : 10 : 0

The full title of this half-crown legal tract was 'An Enquiry into the Causes of the late Increase of Robbers with some Proposals for Remedying this growing Evil in which the present reigning Vices are impartially exposed, and the Laws that relate to the Provision for the Poor and to the Punishment of felons are largely and freely examined.' The book, which displayed the master mind of a constitutional lawyer and publicist, received the approval of Parliament, the congratulations of bishops, and the support of the press.

The success of Fielding's legal book in no way checked his popularity as a humorist for *Joseph Andrews* still showed its wonted vitality :

April 1750. Joseph Andrews 20 sheets, no. 2000, at £1 : 16 : 0
per sheet

£36 : 0 : 0

Here was a book of which Millar—who had paid Fielding but £183—disposed in just over eight years 10,500 copies! For nearly two years Strahan received no Fielding manuscript; not that the writer had laid down his pen; far otherwise, he was, to use an expression of Byron's, 'magnoperating'. Towards the close of 1751 came to New Street half the manuscript of Fielding's third great novel.

December 1751 (folio 81). *Amelia* vol. I & III, 26½ sheets, no.

5000 @ £3 per sheet

£79 : 10 : 0

Extraordinary corrections in Ditto

£1 : 5 : 0

The printers of Vols. II and IV are so far unknown. The volumes, which bore date 1752, were issued, at any rate in part, on 18 December.¹ The next entry is enigmatical :

Jan. 1752. *Amelia* 2nd ed. 2 sheets, no. 3000

£4 : 0 : 0

Composing 60 pages more of Do.

£4 : 10 : 0

¹ It cannot be passed without remark that Mr. Straus, in his most instructive *Life of Robert Dodsley, 1910*, states at p. 342 that Fielding's *Amelia* emanated

How came such trifling additions to be styled '2nd edition'?

One more item only in 1752 refers to Fielding:

April. Fielding on Murder 4½ sheets, no. 2000, @ £1 : 12 : 0	£7 : 4 : 0
Corrections and alterations in Do.	£1 : 4 : 0
Printing off 1000 copies more of Fielding on Murder	£1 : 7 : 0

The full title of this pamphlet is 'Examples of the Interposition of Providence in the Detection and Punishment of Murder'. It was avowedly compiled to strike religious fear into the desperadoes that infested the highways and the nooks and crannies of the metropolis, but Fielding's most ardent admirers must confess it to be a work unworthy of him. He was accustomed to distribute the booklet gratis in his Court.

Fielding, if a terror to criminals, had a very sincere sympathy for those whom force of circumstances and not preference for vice led into evil ways. Convinced that want of organization, and not of public money, was accountable for the futility of pauper relief, he elaborated a well-considered scheme for the utilization of unemployed labour under the title, 'A Proposal for making an Effectual Provision for the Poor, for amending their Morals, and for rendering them useful members of the Society. To which is added A Plan of the Buildings proposed, with proper elevations, drawn by an eminent hand.' The tract is dedicated to Henry Pelham, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Its printing is thus ledgered:

Jan. 1753. Fielding on the Poor 6 sheets, no. 2000, @ £1 : 10 : 0	
a sheet	£9 : 0 : 0
Extraordinary corrections in Do.	13 : 0

That Fielding's scheme for erecting an adequately appointed workhouse at Acton never came to fruition was probably due, in part, to its involving the adoption of a standard rate of

from 'Tully's Head'. The *History of Amelia*, published in 1751 by Dodsley, was a dishonest attempt to forestall Fielding; but as Dodsley was a man of high commercial morality the just inference is that he was an innocent agent.

wages which Georgian politicians, imbued with the supply and demand doctrine in all its crudeness, held to be wholly impracticable. Legislation consequent upon the European War shows that State-regulated wages are not wholly chimerical. But apart from its sociological value, the *Proposal* has a deep biographical one, for Fielding, feeling the hand of death upon him, states it to be his final and most strenuous effort to serve his country.

The *Proposal for the Poor* was the last piece from Fielding's pen that Strahan printed in the novelist's lifetime. Unless the present writer has been guilty of an oversight—there are numerous entries in the Strahan-Millar account for other authors—Strahan did not print Fielding's *Case of Elizabeth Canning*, the last publication of his which Fielding lived to see in print.¹

On 1 July 1754 Fielding left England for Portugal, where he died on 8 October. He kept a record of his journey which, after his death, was published for the benefit of his widow and very young children. The printing of *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* constitutes the last two relevant entries in Strahan's account books. They run :

Jan. 1755 (folio 91). Voyage to Lisbon 10 sheets, no. 2500, @	
£1 : 15 : 0	£17 : 10 : 0
Extraordinary corrections in Do.	17 : 0
Do. 2nd ed. 12 sheets, no. 2500, @	£1 : 13 : 0
July 1756. (folio 100). Fielding's Voyage to Lisbon $\frac{1}{2}$ sheet, no.	£19 : 16 : 0
500 with paper	16 : 0

The two editions of the *Voyage* have given rise to much discussion, the point in issue being the order of publication of the edited and inedited editions. Although absolute proof is still lacking the position is now pretty clear. The manuscript reaching England, Millar undertook its publica-

¹ A special search in the ledgers kindly made by Mr. R. A. Austen Leigh confirms this statement.

tion on behalf of the relict, and sent it to Strahan. The galley-proofs were corrected by some one, possibly by Arthur Murphy, whom internal evidence suggests as the author of the Preface. The book being ready, a copy of the full-text or '10 sheets' edition was at once sent to John Fielding who, being blind, had it read to him. As the last production of a much loved brother it would have much interest for him, but as a man of the world and as a magistrate he would clearly perceive that certain passages relating to Veal, the master of the ship, were plainly defamatory, and if, as a result of publishing them, Veal's passenger-traffic was ruined, a libel action might ensue. He knew, too, that Isabella Ash, his brother's servant on the voyage, and now in England as Veal's *fiancée*, could, and probably would, give evidence in Veal's interest. John Fielding thereupon determined to suppress the whole edition, and himself made such excisions as would render the *Voyage* innocuous, but in his haste he omitted to alter the preface. He thus formed the text of the edited, or '12 sheets' edition, which was put in hand forthwith. It is curious, of course, that a shortened edition should require a larger quantity of paper; but this, as has before been shown, is due to the larger fount employed. When, a year later, Lisbon was the scene of the most terrible earthquake of modern days, Millar bethought him of 2,500 volumes which from fast becoming dust traps might be converted into the coin of the realm. He accordingly bought the copyright and, knowing any decline in passenger traffic could be laid to seismic causes, promptly threw the '10 sheets' edition on the market. Strahan's last entry of July 1756 is probably some advertisement precluding the 'new' edition.

It may be remarked that, before his association with Millar, Fielding had business transactions with a variety of printer-booksellers, viz: J. Roberts, in Warwick Lane; A. Dodd, at the Peacock without Temple Bar; John Watts, Wild Court,

Lincoln's Inn Fields; H. Cook, at the Golden Ball, near Chancery Lane; J. Graham, under the Inner Temple Gate; C. Corbet, at Addison's Head, against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet Street; E. Nutt, at the Royal Exchange; H. Chapelle, in Grosvenor Street; J. Huggonson, in Sword and Buckler Court, over against the Crown Tavern on Ludgate Hill; T. Waller, in the Temple Cloisters; W. Reeve, at Shakespear's Head, Serjeant's Inn Gate, Fleet Street; and George Woodfall, near Craig's Court, Charing Cross.

NOTE.—Since the above was written I have discovered a copy of 'The Female Husband'. It consists of 23 pages, and is the report of a case heard at Wells Quarter Sessions. It is a vividly written account of a young Manx girl who visited Bristol, where she unfortunately became too closely associated with female Methodists of a low type. She then travelled through Devon and Somerset in male attire as a doctor. While in Devon she married two women consecutively and then decamped. Thinking herself out of the beaten track in Wells she there married a young girl of great beauty, but was shortly after identified as a 'wanted' person. 'She was committed to Bridewell, and 'Mr. Gold, an eminent and learned counsellor at law who lives in these parts, 'was consulted with upon the occasion, who gave his advice that she should 'be prosecuted on a clause in the Vagrant Act.' Now Henry Gold (1710-94) was Fielding's first cousin, and both were members of the Western Circuit. Gold's home was at Sharpham Park, the house in which Fielding was born. The graphic description of the examination of Mary Price, 'the wife', by Gold, leaves the impression that Fielding was himself in court seated among counsel.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

THE Council are glad to be able to report to members that the past year has been a prosperous one, and that the measures taken during it to meet the great increase in the cost of producing the Society's books seem likely to be successful.

Twenty-six new British members have been elected during the year, attendances at our meetings have been good, and the papers read at them have fully maintained the level of past years. The sale of our publications to members has yielded £135, much the highest amount ever received from this source in one year and considerably more than the total for the six years (1907-12) before our books were cased. Helped by this and by a generous donation from Mr. Wise towards the cost of the *Bibliography of Landor*, we have been able to pay during the year £1,127 for printing, paper, casing, and distribution, and began 1921 with £161 in hand towards the cost of Vol. XV of *Transactions* and Part 3 of *The Library*—which remain to be paid for. But much more than this is needed if we are to keep pace with the work which is waiting to be done and printed: the raising of the Annual Subscription sanctioned by the Special General Meeting of the Society in October last was thus amply justified.

Up to 14 February only six members had sent in their resignation since notice was given of the new terms of subscription, a number hardly in excess of the normal annual loss from ordinary causes. On the other hand rather an unexpectedly large number of members, especially of those paying by bankers' orders, have not increased their subscription, and will thus only receive *The Library* and such *Supple-*

ments to the Transactions as may appear. It is believed that this is mainly due to inadvertence and that most of these members will complete their subscriptions, as some have done already, by sending a second guinea. It is only by the great majority of members paying the full subscription that the Society can be successfully carried on.

On 1 January 1921 the Society (deducting those whose resignations have since been notified to the Council) consisted of 450 paying members (British 302, American 128, Foreign 20) and 5 honorary members. It is open to the Annual Meeting, if it so please, to declare the Roll closed at these or any smaller numbers, but there will be some risk of not being able to maintain the number fixed, should times become harder, and the advantages of a closed Roll are not so obvious as they were when it was first adopted. The Council, therefore, recommend that, for the present at any rate, it remain open.

The change from a biennial volume of *Transactions*, supplemented by a News Sheet, to a quarterly publication, involved considerable difficulties, but most of these have now been surmounted. The new *Transactions* blend the form of the original series with that of *The Library*, the goodwill of which was presented to the Society by Sir John MacAlister, and their net cost is diminished by a steady income from advertisements and a larger sale outside the Society than was anticipated. One paper has been printed in full within three weeks of its being read before the Society, and it is hoped that in future six months will be the maximum interval between the reading of a paper and publication; room has been found for some interesting miscellaneous articles, and reviews by acknowledged specialists have been an important feature. To meet one new need caused by dropping the *News Sheet* a special notice of each meeting will be sent to any member, desirous of attending regularly, who finds the notice-card

issued at the beginning of each session an insufficient reminder, and will write to Mr. Pollard and ask for it.

Volume XV of the *Transactions* is now being cased, and the first of the *Supplements* to the New Series, Dr. M. R. James's monograph on the manuscripts owned by Dr. Dee, is being printed off. A case for binding Volume I of *The Library* will be sent free of charge to all members of the Society whose subscription has been paid, with the June number; members who *before this date* send their copies of the four numbers with a postal order for 2s. 5d. to the Controller, University Press, Oxford, will receive them back post free.

For 1921 it is hoped to issue to members paying one guinea Vol. II of *The Library* and a second Supplement to the *Transactions*, on Pepys's Spanish Books by Mr. Stephen Gaselee, and to those paying the full subscription, in addition to these, Mr. H. R. Plomer's *Dictionary of English Printers and Publishers* (1668-1725) and all that can be put together of Sir William Osler's illustrated monograph on the earlier medical *incunabula*.

The Council have elected as Honorary Members of the Society Mr. R. E. Graves, in gratitude for his long services as our Hon. Treasurer, and Sir John Y. W. MacAlister in recognition of the very important part he took in founding the Society, of the services he rendered to Bibliography by founding *The Library* and carrying it on for thirty years, and of his kindness in presenting the goodwill of it to the Society.

The only death of a member reported during the year was that of Mr. Wynne Baxter, an enthusiast for the bibliography of Milton, to which he made valuable contributions, including a paper read before the Society in December 1901. Although it took place early in 1921 the Council cannot help commemorating also the loss which the Society has suffered by the death of Mr. F. W. Bourdillon, who brought to bibliography a scholarship and humanity which greatly

enriched his work and endeared him to all who had the privilege of his friendship. His work on *The Early Editions of the Roman de la Rose* was a very notable addition to our illustrated monographs, and his recent paper on *Two French Romances* raised hopes of more contributions from him which are now sadly laid aside.

NOTICES

The Annual Meeting of the Bibliographical Society for the election of officers and members of Council and the reception of the Council's Report will be held at 20 Hanover Square on Monday, March 21, at the conclusion of the ordinary monthly meeting. The officers of the Society offer themselves for re-election: the following will be proposed as members of Council: Dr. E. Marion Cox, Lionel Cust, E. H. Dring, Stephen Gaselee, J. P. Gilson, W. W. Greg, C. W. Dyson Perrins, Sir D'Arcy Power, A. W. Reed, Frank Sidgwick, Henry Thomas, Charles Welch.

At the Monthly Meeting on Monday, March 21, at 5 p.m., Sir D'Arcy Power will read a paper on *Some Early English Books on Hospitals*.

BALANCE SHEET

From 1 January to 31 December 1920.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Balance (1 Jan. 1920) +			Printing, Paper, Casing, and		
£100 on Deposit . . .	530	15 1	Distribution . . .	1,127	12 5
British Entrance Fees . .	27	6 0	Rent . . .	23	2 0
British Subs., 1918-19 . .	9	9 0	Expenses of Meetings . .	11	16 2
„ 1920 . . .	281	8 0	Income Tax . . .	0	18 0
„ 1921 . . .	6	6 0	Bank Charges . . .	0	2 6
British Life Members (3) .	37	16 0	Hon. Treasurer (for Petty		
Interest on Deposit and In-			Cash) . . .	5	10 0
vestments . . .	15	18 4	Secretarial Expenses . .	3	18 6
Sale of Publications . .	135	0 0	U.S.A. Hon. Treasurer's Ex-		
U.S.A. Entrance Fees and			penses (= Subscription) .	1	1 0
Subscriptions, 1920 . .	158	9 4	Insurance . . .	1	19 3
U.S.A. Subscription, 1921 .	2	2 0	Cheques returned . . .	2	2 0
U. S. A. Hon. Treasurer's			Typing . . .	0	12 0
Subscription (= Expenses)	1	1 0	Subscription (paid in error)		
Foreign Members' Subscrip-			returned . . .	1	1 0
tions, 1914-1919 . . .	20	7 5	Expenses for Society's Li-		
Foreign Members' Subscrip-			brary . . .	4	6 3
tions, 1920 . . .	9	5 6	Research Work . . .	10	10 0
Contribution from Mr. T. J.			Balance at Bank (31 Dec.		
Wise towards expenses of			1920) + £100 on Deposit .	161	0 1
Printing . . .	116	14 0			
Cheques recredited . . .	2	2 0			
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	£1,355	11 2		£1,355	11 2

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Examined with vouchers and found correct.

JAMES P. R. LYELL.

15 January 1921.

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Publications . . .	800	0 0	the year . . .	300	0 0
Balance of Account for 1920	161	0 1			

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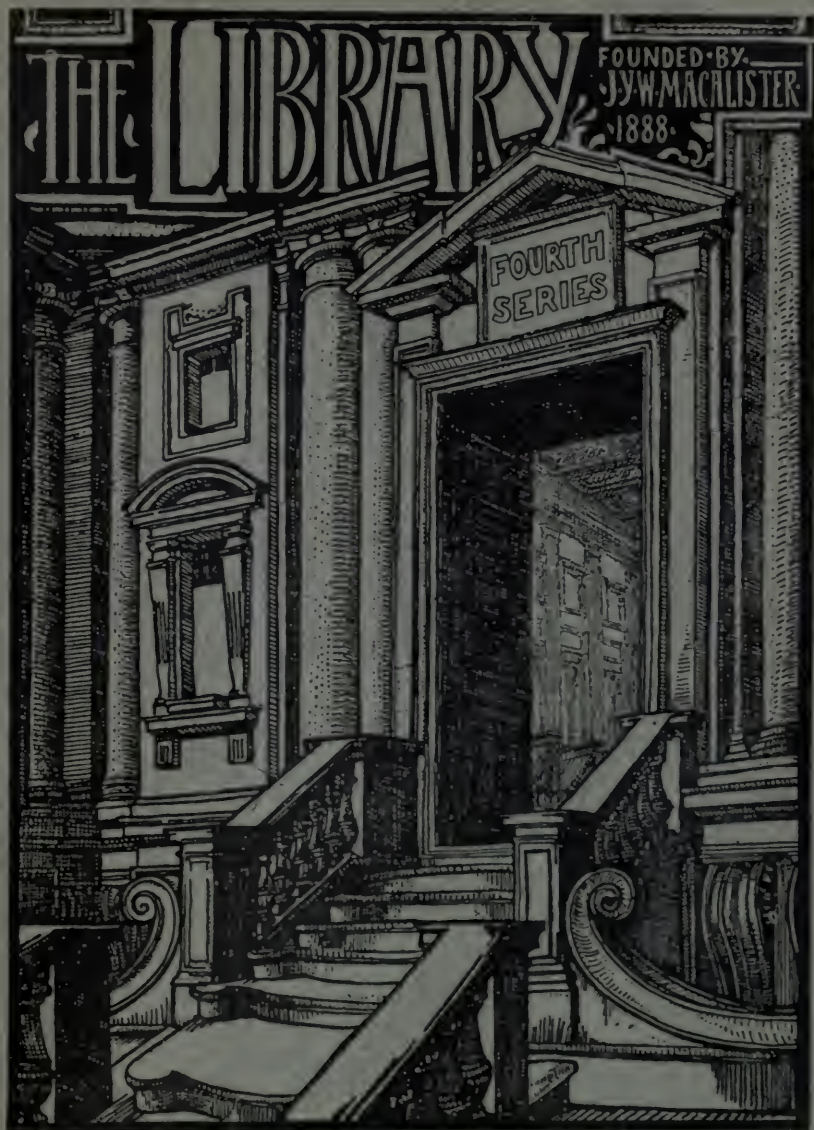
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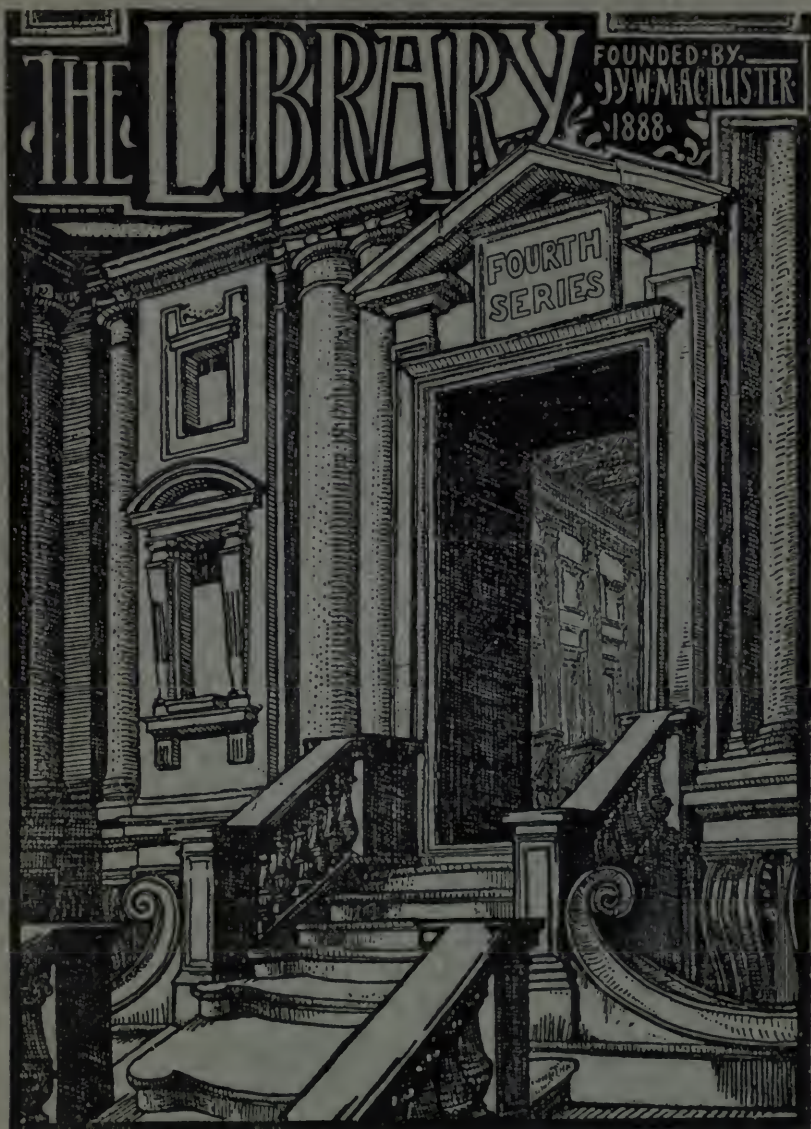


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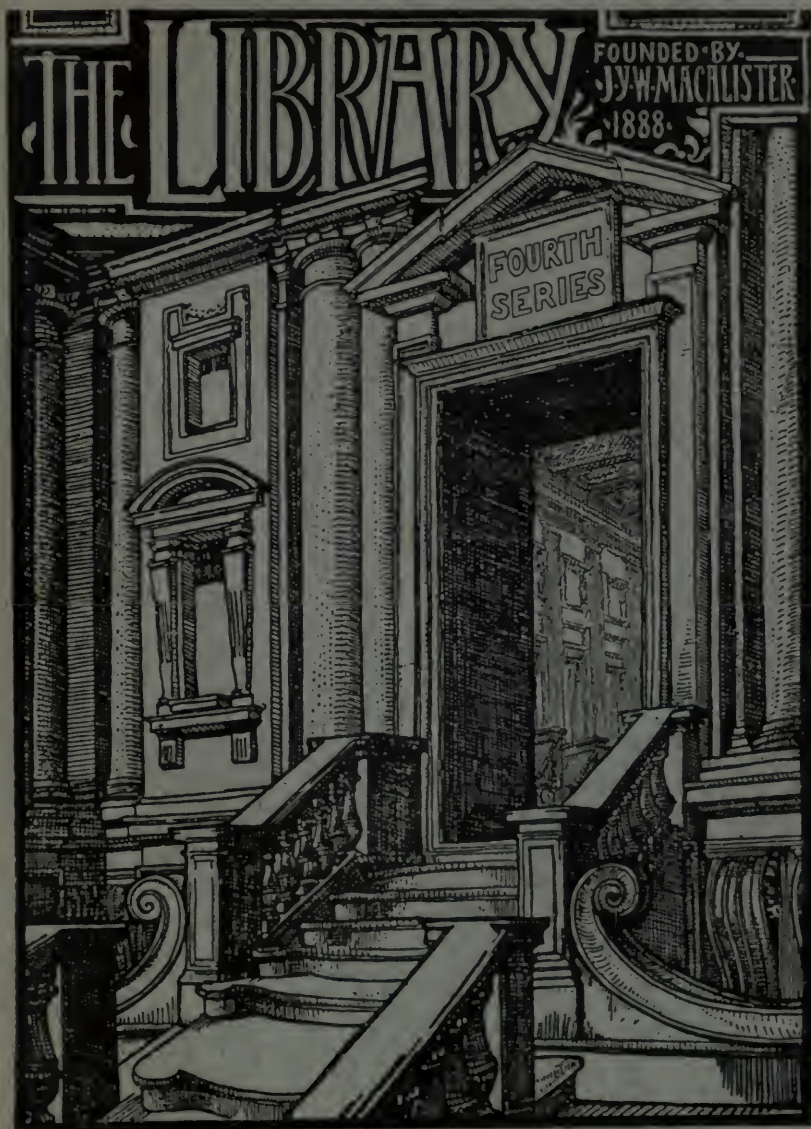
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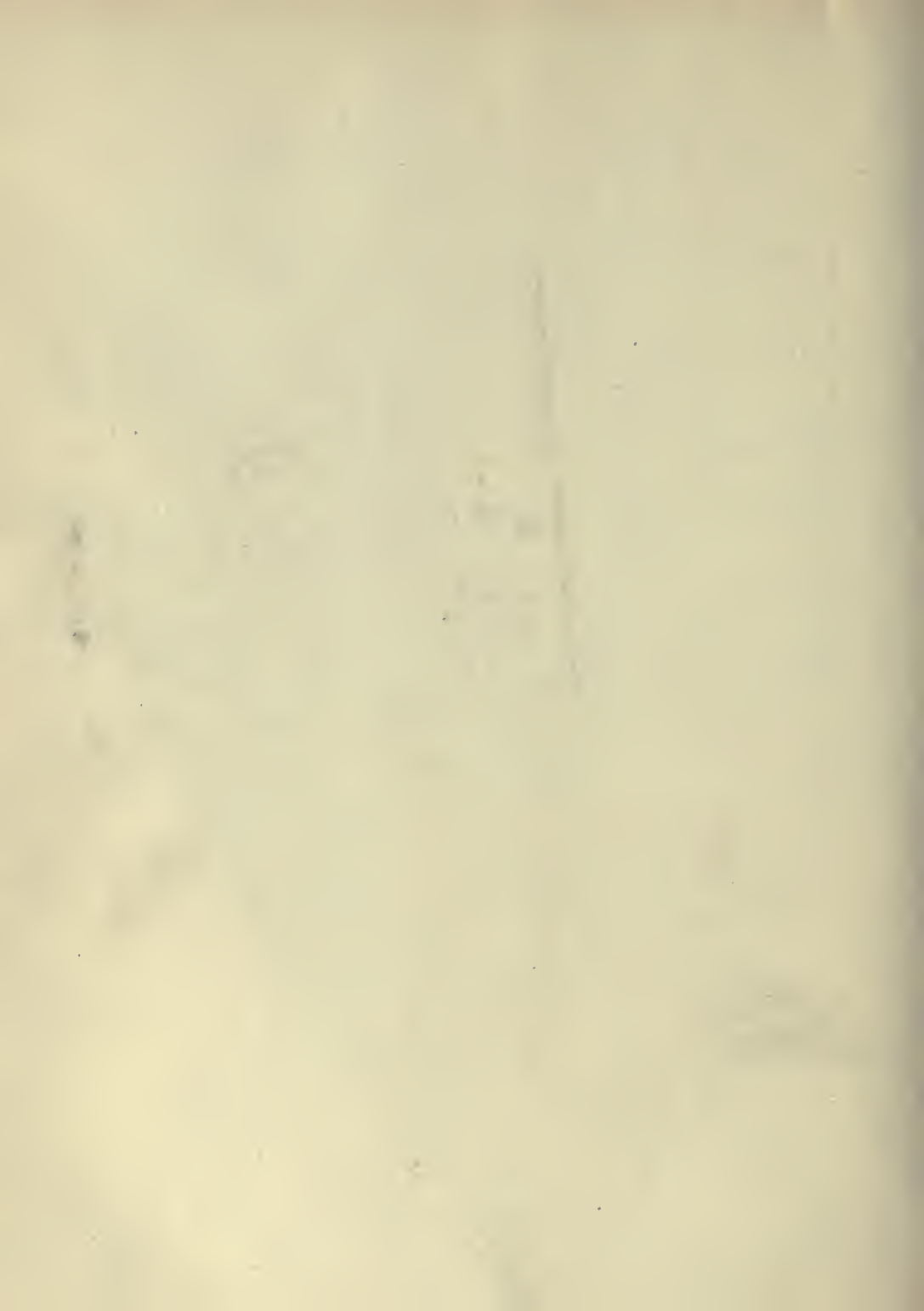
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